DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 343 830 SO 021 870

AUTHOR Wright, Giles R.; And Others
TITLE Schooling and Education. New Jersey Ethnic Life Series 4.
INSTITUTION New Jersey Historical Commission, Trenton.
REPORT NO ISBN-0-89743-069-7
PUB DATE 87
NOTE 66p.
PUB TYPE Reports - Descriptive (141)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC03 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Cultural Background; Cultural Education; *Educational History; Elementary Secondary Education; *Ethnic Groups; Interviews; *Multicultural Education; *Oral History; *State History
IDENTIFIERS *New Jersey

ABSTRACT

This booklet presents interviews with New Jersey residents from a variety of ethnic backgrounds on their educational experiences in the United States. The interviews were conducted in 1979 and 1980 as part of an oral history project. The volume was designed to educate New Jersey high school students about their state's rich ethnic heritage, and to help students to link their own ethnicity and educational experiences with those of the older citizens who came before them. The booklet also contains notes on the interviewees, capsule histories of the ethnic groups, a list of the interviewers, suggested readings for high school students, and a glossary. (DB)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

NEW JERSEY ETHNIC LIFE SERIES 4

Schooling and Education

by Giles R. Wright
with Howard L. Green and Lee R. Parks

ED343830
SO 021 870

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☒ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
LEE R. PARKS
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL COMMISSION, DEPARTMENT OF STATE

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Thomas H. Kean, Governor
Jane Burgio, Secretary of State

NEW JERSEY ETHNIC LIFE SERIES 4

Schooling and Education

by Giles R. Wright
with Howard L. Green and Lee R. Parks

HOWARD L. GREEN, GENERAL EDITOR

TRENTON • NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL COMMISSION, DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Copyright © 1987 by the New Jersey Historical Commission, Department of State

All rights reserved
Printed in the United States of America

This series is based on the Multi-Ethnic Oral History Collection of the New Jersey Historical Commission, Department of State. The collection contains over fifteen hundred life histories of New Jerseyans of varied ethnic backgrounds, tape-recorded by students at several New Jersey colleges. For more information about this collection please contact the Ethnic History Project at the Commission.

New Jersey Historical Commission
Department of State
113 West State Street, CN 305
Trenton, NJ 08625

Thomas H. Kean, Governor
Jane Burgio, Secretary of State

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Wright, Giles R.
Schooling and education

(New Jersey ethnic life series ; 4)
Bibliography: p.
1. Minorities — Education — New Jersey. 2. New Jersey — Biography. 3. New Jersey — Emigration and immigration — Biography. 4. Ethnology — New Jersey. I. Green, Howard L. II. Parks, Lee R. III. New Jersey Historical Commission. IV. Title. V. Series.
LC3732.N45W75 1987 371.97'009749 87-2589
ISBN 0-89743-069-7

Cover photo: Hungarian students at St. Ladislas School, New Brunswick, 1984. Photo by Suzanne Szasz.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgments	5
Introduction	7
Schooling and Education	11
Notes on the Speakers	35
Capsule Histories of the Ethnic Groups	45
List of Interviewers	59
Suggested Readings for High School Students	63
Glossary	69

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The *New Jersey Ethnic Life* series has been many years in the making. It has involved several organizations and many individuals. We are indebted to all of them.

The series is based on a collection of more than fifteen hundred interviews tape-recorded by the New Jersey Historical Commission's Multi-Ethnic Oral History Project in 1979–1980. The Ethnic Heritage Studies Program, United States Office of Education (now the United States Department of Education), provided the grant that supported the collection project. The Elementary and Secondary Education Program of the National Endowment for the Humanities provided the funds that enabled us to publish the pamphlets.

A number of high-school teachers in the state used early versions of these booklets in their classes. The suggestions made by them and their students proved invaluable. These teachers were Raymond Aklonis, Elizabeth High School; Joseph Stringer, Highland Park High School; William Fernekes, Hunterdon Central High School; Mary O'Malley, Passaic Valley High School, Little Falls; Louis Pini, Paterson Catholic High School; Gary Kulhanjian, Piscataway High School; Helen Simpkins, Vernon Township High School; Carol LaMountain, Atlantic City High School; Michael Gollnick and Paul Guidry, Burlington Township High School; Sabino Iovino, Cumberland Regional High School, Seabrook; Robert Sigmund, Haddon Township High School.

Throughout the project we benefited from the advice of a talented advisory board. For saving us from numerous errors we thank its members: E. Alma Flagg, Newark Board of Education; Michael Frisch, State University of New York, Buffalo; John A. Herbst, American Labor Museum; Kenneth A. Job, William Paterson College; Richard Sorrell, Brookdale Community College; and Vitaut Kipel, Camille Huk Smorodsky and Stanley S. Sobieski, members of Governor Brendan Byrne's Ethnic Advisory Council.

The oral histories on which we have based the series were collected under the supervision of Richard Sorrell of Brookdale Community College; Thomas H. Brown of Cumberland County College; Richard Moss of Essex County College; Heyward Ehrlich of Rutgers, the State University, Newark; Oscar Fishstein of Union College. Their students, our interviewers, are too numerous to list individually, but without them we would have had no project.

Governor Byrne's Ethnic Advisory Council and the Department of Education provided invaluable assistance to the project.

Ronald J. Grele, director of the Oral History Research Office at Columbia University, deserves our special thanks. It was largely through his efforts, while he was research director at the Commission, that the Multi-Ethnic Oral History Project and the *New Jersey Ethnic Life* series were conceived and funded.

We also thank those Commission staff members who helped prepare the booklets: Bernard Bush, who read the manuscripts and made many valuable suggestions; David S. Cohen, who diligently sought out the illustrations; Mary R. Murrin, who carefully prepared the charts and graphs and the ethnic group histories; Patricia A. Thomas, who transcribed the oral history interviews and typed various drafts of the manuscript. Thanks too are due to Adrienne Scerbak for her help in preparing the booklet on women. Nancy H. Dallaire ably designed the series and oversaw its production.

Finally, this work was made possible above all by those New Jerseyans who so kindly consented to be interviewed for our project. We hope that these booklets stand as some expression of our gratitude to them.

S

INTRODUCTION

There are two basic, somewhat contradictory schools of thought about the people of the United States of America. In one view, Americans share essentially the same culture and traditions. In the other, they are divided by their varied backgrounds.

These views are often represented by figures of speech. Those who hold the first view may use the image of a melting pot — a vessel in which separate metals or other substances are gradually blended into one. In this view America dissolves immigrant cultures to form a new mixture.

A prosperous French immigrant farmer, Hector St. John de Crevecoeur, expressed this idea more than two hundred years ago. He wrote that the American abandons his "ancient prejudices and manners" and takes new ones "from the new mode of life he has embraced." In America, he felt, "individuals of all nations are melted into a new race."

Proponents of the second view compare American society to a salad bowl or a hearty stew. The separate ingredients, they say, do not blend together and lose their special characteristics; instead, the flavors and textures of all the ingredients complement each other to make a whole which is better than the sum of the parts.

In the same way, these thinkers argue, Americans keep elements of their original cultures alive for many generations. These thinkers, often called "cultural pluralists," believe many cultures coexist in our nation.

Both metaphors — the melting pot and the salad bowl — recognize that ethnic diversity has been fundamental in the growth of the United States. Since the seventeenth century our history has been the story of many cultures interacting. The meeting and mixing of traditions, values, and expectations from all over the world give United States history its special complexity.

New Jersey, with more than a hundred ethnic groups, is an excellent

example. Few states have so many cultural backgrounds within their boundaries. The booklet you are about to read contains excerpts from the tape-recorded life histories of New Jerseyans from many of these groups.

The tapes were made by college students, most of them just a few years older than you, during the school year 1979–80. The people they interviewed, who so readily told the stories of their travels, careers, homes and families, live in your towns and cities. They could be your neighbors, friends or relatives. Remember this as you read. This booklet is based on interviews conducted by students like you with people like many of your acquaintances.

Some of your neighbors speak languages other than English. Others use English with rich, thick accents that may be hard to understand. Often they seem detached from the affairs of community or neighborhood that interest you. But if you knew them better you would probably find that they are involved in communities of their own, communities of people who share ethnicity, who belong to the same ethnic groups.

But what is an ethnic group?

Generally, it is a collection of people who share a culture — people with the same race, religion, nationality, language, history, values, or customs. Different combinations of these elements determine ethnic identity for different groups.

For example, race is the main thing that defines American blacks as an ethnic group. The Chinese and Japanese, however, are of the same race but different ethnicities. Religion gathers Jews of many nationalities into a single ethnic group, but national origin and other characteristics divide Christians and Muslims into many.

Language and other cultural elements separate the Flemings ethnically from the Walloons, even though they share Belgian nationality. But the English, the Irish and the Scots, who all speak the same language, belong to different ethnic groups.

Ethnicity is an elusive concept. But it is one of the keys to United States history. This booklet will bring you closer to understanding it.

In presenting voices from New Jersey's ethnic groups we have taken great care to let them speak clearly. Spoken language must be edited to make it readable. Sometimes the prose has been changed substantially, but every passage accurately reflects the intention, meaning and even verbal style of the speaker.

We have several aims for this series. Oral history — that is, the tape-recording of people's recollections — captures the past in a special way. We hope these booklets show that all people, in the way they conduct

their lives, both make history and are made by it. We hope the words of people from so many cultural backgrounds will help you understand your own ethnic background. And we hope to make you more perceptive about the ethnic heritage of others.

Schooling and Education

There may be places in the world where life is sometimes easier, but this is the only place where you can get an education even in your seventies.

In Poland, before World War II, I went to a "gymnasium,"* which is equal to the American high school. But my parents had to pay about twenty-five dollars monthly. For the average person education ended at the seventh grade. Most people did not have the means to attend high school. This meant that if your father was a shoemaker, you were a shoemaker. If your father was a gravedigger, you probably did the same thing. It was very hard to get out of the class you were born in.

Here, everybody has a chance; if they want to work hard enough and don't give up, they always have a chance. Here, if you miss out on an education when you are young, it's never too late.

— Minna Brenman

For countless children of all ethnic groups, school has been the main point of entry into the American mainstream. As a result, our educational system has played an important role in the history of American ethnic groups. But because so many of the students have come from the American ethnic mosaic, the nature of the schools has been affected as well.

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, many people thought that the frontier was the great source of opportunity. Land was widely available, and Americans tended to believe that land offered the chance

*See glossary

to achieve every dream. Not all Americans followed the frontier, of course, and not all of those who followed it were successful. Nonetheless, it was a powerful symbol. In the 1890s, however, people began to realize that the frontier was gone. The huge emigration from southern and eastern Europe was gaining force, and the national imagination needed a potent new idea to replace the frontier. For many, the new symbol was education.

To be sure, many Americans have been quite successful without a high level of educational achievement. But in the past hundred years most of us have believed that education is the surest road to improvement. And our schools have indeed given many individuals, and some entire ethnic groups, an important boost toward higher living standards.

Our educational system has not benefited all groups equally. In fact, it has held some back. Certain features built into the system — segregation and other forms of discrimination — have hindered Afro-Americans particularly. The schools have denied many of them equal educational opportunities and thereby deprived them of fair chances in the world beyond school.*

Some groups have had mixed feelings about the educational system. Not all ethnic groups are interested in just making themselves over — in "getting out of the class they were born in." Some, who migrated because they felt threatened by change at home, have been more interested in holding their families together and preserving old ways. To them, America's schools have sometimes seemed more threatening than encouraging.

The influence of schools on ethnic groups is only one side of the story. The schools themselves have been shaped by America's multiethnic character.

For example, the curriculum has been affected. The public schools used to focus deliberately on subjects that promoted assimilation: the English language, for instance, and "Americanism," which means the attitudes and habits that were thought to make good citizens. More recently the current has tended the other way. Some ethnic groups influence the teaching of history and world affairs. And English no longer overrides other languages automatically; it has been taught as a "second language" for several years.*

America's multiethnicity has also affected the way we organize education. In addition to the public schools we have an enormous parochial school system, which many ethnic groups helped to create. And on the negative side, official racial segregation deformed the educational system for several decades; the residential segregation of many cities still complicates school life for many children.

THE ROAD TO SUCCESS

America's dream of education is poignantly expressed in the life of Natalie Diorio, a sixty-eight-year-old Austrian.† Although she could not get as much education as she wanted, she made sure her children got all that was available.

I was eight when I started school in Vineland. I went to school for five years there. I attended the parochial school, Sacred Heart, and I skipped a couple of grades. By the time I was fifteen, I was in the seventh grade. But then I had to quit school to go to work and take care of the kids at home because Mom was always sick.

I always wanted an education. And my father believed in it tremendously. I think his greatest heartache was that he could not afford to give us an education. But he kept on saying, "Read, read, read." As much as it hurt me, I think it hurt my father more. So I swore that if I ever got married and had children, they would have to graduate from high school.

Her children did better than that; they became doctors. This is the kind of story that has given substance to the faith many Americans have in education.

The dream of similar success is expressed in the recollections of many other Americans from nearly all ethnic backgrounds:

MAE IKEDA, JAPANESE, SEVENTY-ONE: My father was very interested in politics, anything political. He would come home and tell me about this and that. He often said that he wished he was younger and had an education. He said he would have run to become a senator.

He was that type of person. That's why he was very interested in my getting an education and all of his children getting an education. "No matter what," he said, "even if we have to struggle, you people are going to get an education."

MARIA ROSARIO, PUERTO RICAN, TWENTY-TWO: When we came to America, we went to school and my mother and father saw how bad it was here, how hard it was to work. When we would be together, my father would

† We have given the ages of the speakers during the school year 1979–1980, when they were interviewed.

A preschool class at a Roman Catholic Church, probably in the early 1970s. Parochial and public schools have introduced millions of immigrant children to the English language and to American culture. Courtesy of the Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies.

always say, "You must keep on going to school. You must continue to be better than we are. You must keep on going."

ANDREW ZUKOVSKY, UKRAINIAN, FIFTY-NINE: My father's attitude towards school was very strict. Education was very strongly emphasized. We had to get good marks. And it was always told to us that we had an opportunity to go to school that our parents didn't have in Russia.

So, my father wanted us to excel in everything we did. He wouldn't take any kind of failing grade. When our marks didn't come up to par, the punishment was quite severe.

SARAH GILLIS, AFRO-AMERICAN, FORTY-EIGHT: My father said that he could not afford to give us a college education, but he would do his best to make sure each one of us got a high school education. Because

he had foresight. He predicted that in our day you would need a master's degree in order to pick up trash.

And he was right. I have given the same message to my children. I want to make sure that they have an education. And the highest type, training as a doctor or lawyer, something that is going to be beneficial to them.

IRENE BULLOCK, HUNGARIAN, SIXTY-FOUR: My parents were very strong on education and did nothing to interfere with our studies. When we were in school, that was our job. They wanted us to get all the education we could so that our lives would be easier than theirs.

They didn't push us in any direction in terms of what we should be. That was left entirely up to us. It was strange because when I first went to school, at six years of age, I thought a teacher was the most wonderful thing in the world and I wanted to be a teacher. And they never discouraged this in any way. That satisfied them.

ANNA ERIN SCREEN FORSMAN, IRISH, FIFTY-EIGHT: My parents were not the type of people who pushed their children into something. But they did feel that education was worth the effort. They wanted us to go to school regardless.

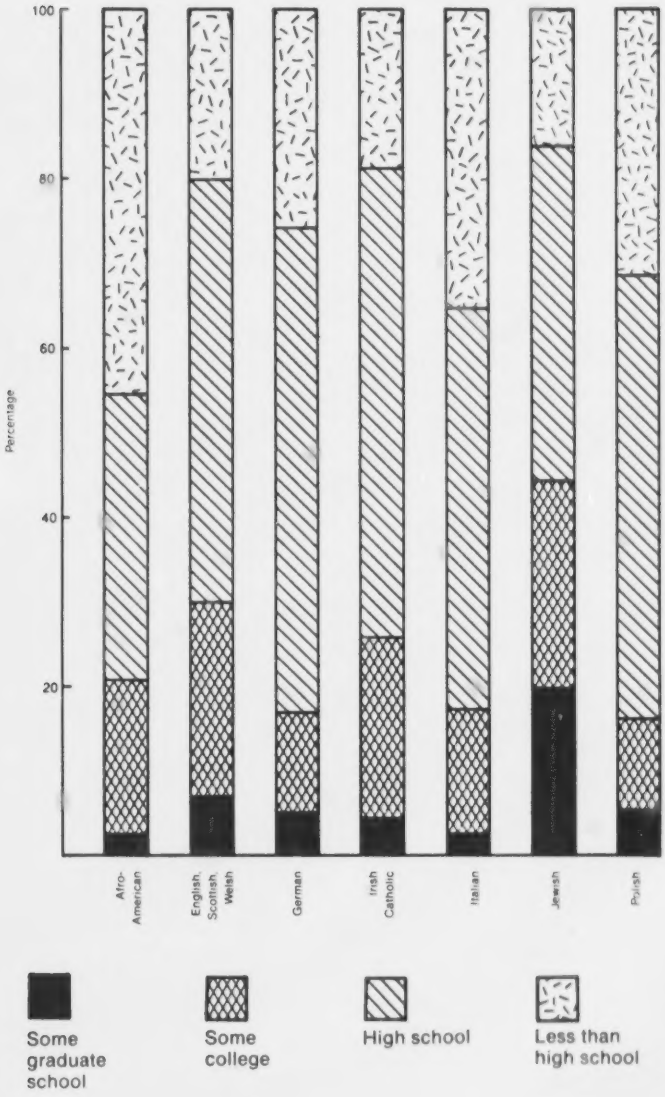
I never heard them mention money. If a person wanted to go to school, somehow my father would do more work and get the few dollars that would make it possible. And there was no sexism in our house. My father did not make a difference between me and my brothers regarding education.

Despite their parents' fervent desires, not all children saw school as the fulfillment of the American dream. In fact many migrants recall their first experience in school in somewhat harsh terms. Moving to a new society can be very shocking. Often this was first recognized at school.

Abdullah Shabazz, an Afro-American who is twenty-nine, found that some of his expectations and habits were invalid.

When I came to the North from the South I thought I would find black teachers, but I found all white teachers. And that's not the way it was in the South. I was used to taking instruction from black teachers. I felt more calm and natural learning from them. I don't know why. That's the way it was.

EDUCATION OF SELECTED ETHNIC GROUPS, 1980



Anna Groener, an eighty-year-old German, discovered that her clothing was inappropriate.

On my first day, I had on a nice white blouse and a long skirt. I was the last in line in the school yard. And I'll never forget this as long as I live. The priest looked at the line and said, "Who is that old woman in the back there?" Because my skirt was old-fashioned.

Children's very identity was questioned. Many children recall that ideas and styles were more or less forcibly changed in school. Sometimes even names were changed.

JOSEPHINE ROSSI, ITALIAN, SIXTY-SIX: I attended public school in Rosenhayn and finished the seventh grade. Now when I first started school at the primary level, although my real first name was Justine, they put me down as Josephine and I've been Josephine ever since. They changed my name. Maybe they had never heard of Justine. But I think it was more because it was an Italian name. Afterwards, there were two Josephines in the same school in the same grade — big Josephine and little Josephine.

LOUIS NANA, ITALIAN, SEVENTY-FIVE: My first name is Vito. But when I came to this country and started public school, they named me Louis. They even changed the names of my brother and sister. My brother John, Giovanni in Italian, they called him Charles. My sister's name was Agnes, Agnese in Italian, and they called her Elizabeth. The only name that was right was my brother Phil. They called him Philip.

ITSUKE "IDDY" ASADA, JAPANESE, FIFTY-TWO: I had two brothers and four sisters. So there were five girls and two boys in the family. We all had Japanese names; we didn't have any English names. The teachers and students couldn't say our names, so the teachers changed our names to English names. One sister and one brother even changed their names later on their birth certificates. And that's why I now have my short nickname.

As this graph suggests, ethnic groups have not used educational possibilities equally. Some have chosen other pursuits and some have been denied opportunities. Source data: National Opinion Research Center.

This photograph was taken in the 1890s by Jacob A. Riis, a Dutch immigrant who took a great interest in the conditions of immigrant life. This classroom was heated by a coal stove and lighted by gas flames, which appear at the top of the photograph. The school — the Essex Market School on New York City's Lower East Side — had been condemned at the time the photograph was taken. From the Jacob A. Riis Collection, courtesy of the Museum of the City of New York.

LEAVING SCHOOL

In many families, circumstances frustrated or even destroyed the dream of education. Many who believed in it could not afford to keep their children in school. Seventy-one-year-old Samuel Ichinaga, a Japanese, is typical of many who had to break off school to go to work.

It was a country school that I went to. There were about sixty children. The school went from the first to the eighth grade. Naturally there was only one teacher. She had to teach all eight grades, but I think we learned more than the children now. Because we were very disciplined, and we respected the teacher and I think the teacher respected us.

We had to memorize a new poem once a week. I think that helped to develop our memory more than children now.

I went up to the eighth grade in that school and then I went to high school. But we were so poor that I had to give it up. I completed about five months of the freshman year of high school and then I left and started to make a living for myself. I was fourteen.

Mary DeFalco, a sixty-three-year-old Italian, stayed in school until the eighth grade, but even that was a struggle.

I had to help at home on the farm. My dad could not afford to get anyone to help him, so we worked with the horses and we picked and helped with the crops.

I really wasn't kept completely out of school. I would just take days off when we had strawberries and things like that to pick. Because they would rot if we didn't take care of them.

I only had one teacher who was not nice to me. She would holler at me the next day, "Why didn't you come to school? If you don't come to school you won't be able to pass." I would tell her that I had to help on the farm. She didn't like the idea.

Some families in this predicament sought creative solutions. Mary Arshelus Adanatzian Ingram, a fifty-nine-year-old Armenian, recalls,

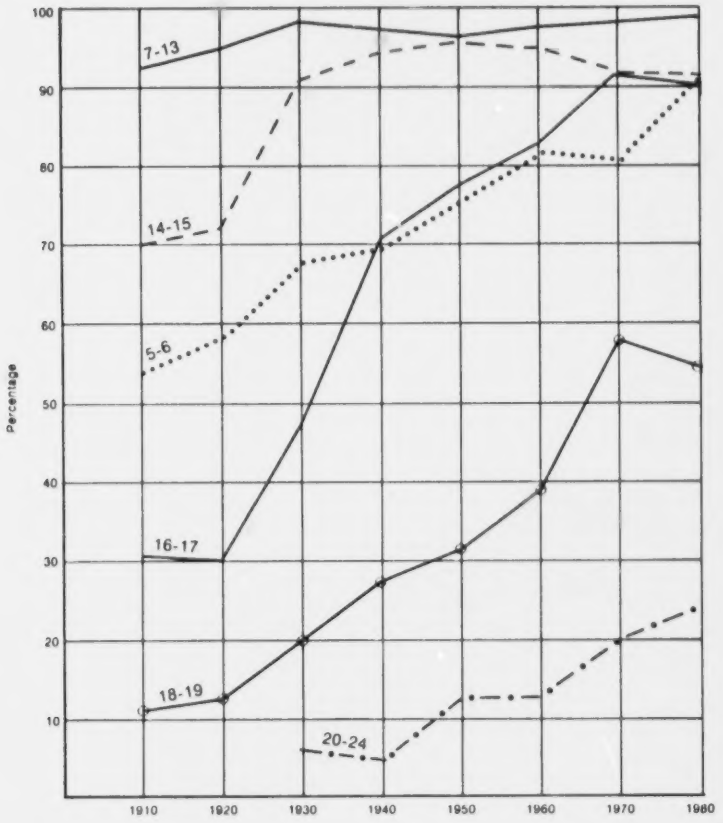
After Robert Treat, I went to night school at Barringer High. I was sixteen and I went to Barringer at night because I could help my parents in the store in the day. My third and final year at Barringer, however, I left and went to Westside and switched over to day. Going during the day I could finish high school in six months and this is what I did.

Regina Dottavio, an Italian who is seventy-nine, was a little less lucky:

My parents felt education was important but they really needed us to help on the farm. The younger ones went through the eighth grade but I didn't. I was the oldest and I had to help take care of the other children. My mother had nine children and she needed help.

So we asked the principal if he'd let me stay home for a month in the spring and a month in the fall and he agreed. I'd stay home for those months. My mother would go out and work and I'd keep the house, take care of the children.

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE IN NEW JERSEY BY AGE GROUP, 1910-1980



This graph shows that children are starting school earlier and staying there longer than they did in the past. Two reasons are that kindergartens have spread and that many more pupils finish high school now, especially among immigrant groups. Compiled from United States Census Bureau data.

In some ethnic groups, girls were more likely to leave school early than boys, because education was generally considered to be of less value to them. If a family had to choose between sending a boy to school and sending a girl, the girl tended to lose out.

JENNY CATERINA, ITALIAN, SEVENTY-FIVE: We worked on the farm as soon as we were able to go out and do something, even if it was just to drop plants while they were planting. And this interfered with our education.

We would have to stay home in the spring during the planting season. Then in the fall, they would have to have half-sessions of school because so many farmers needed their children for harvesting.

The oldest ones in our family were all female. We had to do all the farm work. I had to quit school as soon as I was fourteen so I could help at home, do the farming, keep the house, and help with the family. Then at sixteen I went to work at a canning factory about a mile from home.

But my brothers — they were the ninth and eleventh children in the family — were given preference in getting an education. My dad wanted them to go through school. But neither one chose to do so.

MARY PETROZZO, ITALIAN, NINETY-FIVE: After I finished the third grade, I stayed home and helped Mama. Of course, in the third grade at that time there was a lot of arithmetic. That's what you really needed. To know arithmetic and how to write names and spell. And, of course, catechism — religion.

Most of the parents kept the girls home to help. They had large families. But the boys were allowed to continue school. They figured the boys needed an education more than the girls. The girls would be raising a family and staying home. That's the way it was.

In many families education was actually considered inappropriate for girls, and they were discouraged from going to school.

CONCEPCION SIMONE, MEXICAN, FORTY-FIVE: It was an uphill struggle for me to get an education because my father was of the old school. He did not think women needed an education. You had enough with high school. After that, you got out and earned some money or whatever.

But I just couldn't picture myself waiting on people at a dime store or serving dinner or something like that for the rest of my life. That wasn't me at all. In spite of the fact that I never told anyone what I

might do or what I might be interested in, I knew I did not want to do that.

LEAH LIFSCHITZ, JEWISH, FIFTY SEVEN: I graduated from high school when I was sixteen. I had been skipping all along.

It was 1938 and the height of the Great Depression.* My mother and father were both working and we were struggling. Times were very, very hard. My sister was married and my brother, now a university professor, got through school on total scholarships. The fact that my brother went to college was a very big thing in our family. But he was really doing this on his own.

When it came to me, my father's values and my mother's values were different. My mother wanted me to continue my education. My father believed that girls just had to go out and work after a certain amount of time; they didn't need that much education.

This caused a tremendous conflict in my life. My peers also came from immigrant families, but ones where values regarding education for girls were different. So my friends went on to college. This was something my father would not accept.

From the time I was sixteen until I was eighteen was the saddest period of my life. Because I graduated from high school at sixteen with an academic diploma, thinking of going to college.

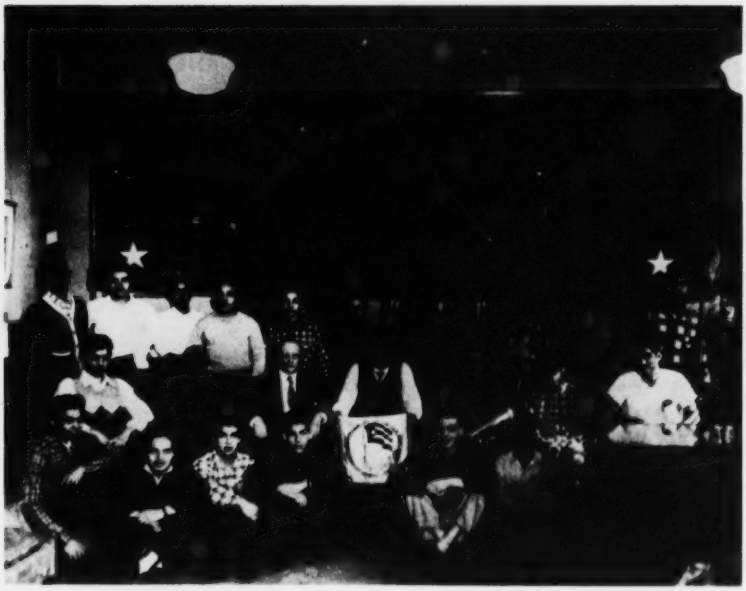
Sometimes the situation was reversed, and it was the children who rejected the dream of education; many left their schooling unfinished by choice. Fifty-nine-year-old Marie Brown,§ an Italian, explains why she left school in the ninth grade.

I wanted to get a job and make some money. My mother didn't want me to leave school, and my sister and brother wanted me to finish high school and even go further because I was the youngest in the family. But I always felt that if I went to work, I could help the family and help myself.

LEARNING ENGLISH

The presence of so many ethnic groups in the United States shaped the goals of American education. Policy makers feared that the multitude of cultures, languages, and religions would prevent the forming of an

§ Name changed at speaker's request.



A Puerto Rican student club at Benjamin Franklin High School, Philadelphia, probably during the 1950s. *Borinquen* is the Spanish spelling of Puerto Rico's original Indian name. Courtesy of the Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies.

American identity. They feared that ethnic groups would not adopt the ways of the American mainstream. They saw schooling as an important way to give children a sense of being American.

Because the ability to communicate with other Americans was the first step, schools emphasized English instruction. Night schools for adults provided classes in English along with lessons in citizenship. In some states anyone between fourteen and twenty-one who could not read and write English was required to study it in evening school.

LOUISE COULTER, ITALIAN, FIFTY EIGHT: I was fourteen when I came to this country. I didn't even know how to say "yes" in English. My parents decided I had to learn English, and they enrolled me in school. I went into this particular class, and the teacher figured out that I didn't know how to say anything, and sent me to the kindergarten class. My first book was *Three Little Pigs.*

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

But I didn't spend whole days in the kindergarten class. I would just be sent down to study my alphabet and learn how to read. As time went by I learned the language and within two years I graduated from the ninth grade.

EMMA GAWINOWICZ, ITALIAN, SIXTY-ONE: We went back to Italy when I was six months old and stayed there for twelve years. Then we came back and we settled in Vineland. We went to day school, and then at night there was a special Italian/English-speaking teacher who taught us English. So I went to school for two years and then I went to work.

EDITE VIRKUS, LATVIAN, FORTY-FIVE: When I came to this country in 1950, I knew some English but not really that much. I was sixteen. We settled in Ballston Spa, New York, and, of course, I had to go to school. Since I didn't speak English that well, they put me in the sixth grade.

It was a traumatic experience. All of those little children. They thought I was a teacher. But I was just a student and it was so embarassing. The following year, I went to the tenth grade. They couldn't understand how I was so smart to jump so many grades. Anyway, I finished high school in Ballston Spa.

MARIA ROSARIO: I came to America at age fourteen with my family. It was very hard to learn English in school. The teachers, however, were very good. Some were Spanish teachers. Bilingual. They helped me. They put me in bilingual classes. I had some classes in Spanish to help me in English. After a while, they put me in an English-speaking class. It was a little hard because I still did not understand too much. It was maybe after a year or two that they put me in an English-speaking class.

MICHAEL ROSELLI, ITALIAN, SIXTY-FIVE: School was three or four blocks away from where we lived. It was a public school. I couldn't even speak a word of English, so they put me in the first grade. I learned to do my ABCs and so forth, but it took me quite a while before I started to speak English. To me it seems like me and my brother were the only ones that couldn't. Most of the other children were born in this country. I used to sit there and say, "Oh, I wish I could speak like that."

CELIA SOLOWAY, JEWISH, SEVENTY-NINE: I went to school at night to learn English. It was a public school in Bushwick Avenue in Brooklyn.

But I stopped going. Many of the students had just come off the

boat and every word the teacher used was funny to them. They were laughing the whole time, especially when they wanted to say a word and it didn't come out the way it was supposed to. To me it wasn't funny. I said to myself, "It's no good. I didn't come to school to laugh."

I went back to school when my oldest child, Phyllis, was about three. I wanted to become a citizen. I went back to school for about six months. And I was reading and writing, writing letters in English. Then I had to stop again in order to have my next child.

RACIAL SEGREGATION

Schooling has not always brought social mobility or easy assimilation. Afro-American and Hispanic children have met more resistance from

This classroom in Gee's Bend, Alabama, was photographed in 1939 by Marion Post Wolcott of the Farm Security Administration. It is probably a one room school, since it has pupils of different ages. The pledge of allegiance on the blackboard lacks the phrase "under God," which was only added in 1954. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

society than children of other ethnic groups. Oriental children were also given a hard time earlier in the century, but society has been readier to lift its barriers for their descendants.

Afro-Americans, who began to organize their own schools as early as the 1790s, have experienced exclusion and discrimination in education more than any other ethnic group in this country. In the South before the Civil War, for example, the schooling of slaves was prohibited and the region's few public school systems excluded free black children.

In the North during the same period, free black children were generally excluded from public schools or sent to segregated ones. After the Civil War most Afro-American students in the North attended integrated schools, where they often faced hostility from whites; others went to de facto segregated schools.*

Throughout the South and here and there in the North a legal Jim Crow educational system took hold. In 1954, when the Supreme Court declared this system unconstitutional, most of the nation's Afro-American pupils were attending legally segregated schools.*

Rebecca Taylor, a seventy-six-year-old Afro-American, grew up in the South. She describes the contrast between the schools black children went to and those the whites attended.

I went to a black school. I think it was a four-room schoolhouse. There must have been two or three classes in each room. It was very crowded because sometimes while one class was being taught, we'd go outside. Then when we had class, we'd come inside and some of the others would go out. It was a frame building. Then there were schools for white children. The white schools were beautiful brick structures.

Mrs. Taylor also met segregation when she moved north.

I think most black southerners had read about the North being milk and honey and that everything was all right, good race relationships and all that. But when I came to Plainfield in 1930, I discovered that it was as segregated as the South. The only thing I guess was you didn't have to sit in the back of the bus; you could sit any place.

But everything else was like it was down South. The theaters were segregated, the hospitals were segregated, the churches of course, and some schools were segregated. Bryant School was segregated; it had white teachers and all black children. Then you had the Washington School, which was the same. Most of the black kids in town went to those two schools.

My children went to the Matson School because we were in its district. The neighborhood was completely white. So my children were the only black children in their classes until they got to about the sixth grade. Then the population started changing and blacks started moving in.

In the part of Texas where Concepcion Simone grew up, the Mexican-Americans and the Anglos went to the white school, but black children went to another.*

There was a small pocket of black people in the community but they did not go to school with the rest of us. There was one small black grammar school where they had all of the grades under one teacher. It was a slight distance from where I went to school. The older black children were bused to another town, El Paso or someplace.

Twenty-six-year-old Brenda Harris, an Afro-American, was in school during the period when segregation officially came to an end.

From the first through eleventh grades, I went to an all-black school in Woodson, North Carolina. In my senior year, we had integration. All of the eleventh and twelfth graders were bused to a previously all-white high school and the black high school was turned into a tenth-grade school. So in my senior year I graduated from an integrated system.

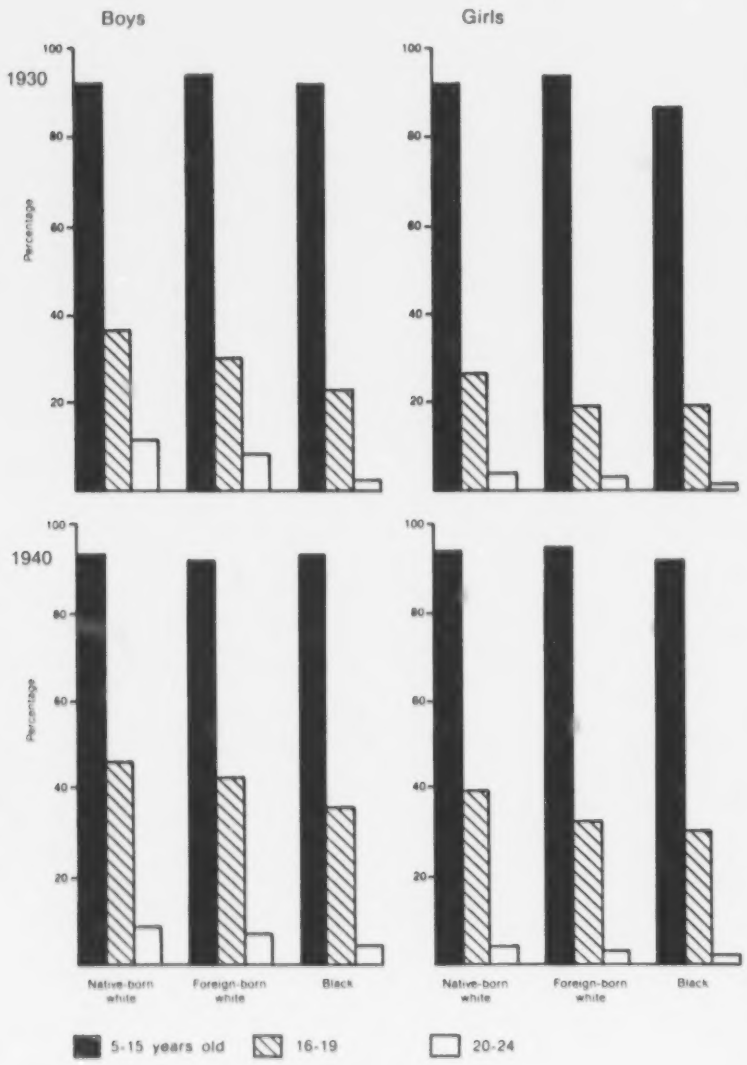
Some northern schools were integrated long before integration came to the South, but integration did not bring equality or fair treatment. To Mildred Arnold, an Afro-American of sixty-seven, it was a mixed blessing.

I started Newton Street School in Newark in 1924. I had never gone to school with whites before. So my Momma told me I had to go to school with these kids and I would have to learn to deal with them.

The principal was a Mr. West. I will never forget him. A lovely man. He knew the problems I had to go up against in that school and he would take up for me.

You had the children to fight because you were black. That was an everyday thing. And besides fighting the children, you had these little incidents with the teachers. I remember when I reached the fifth grade, the teacher was a Miss Messina. She stayed out of school the whole year so she wouldn't have to teach me. In those days one teacher taught all of the subjects to her class and she would have had me the entire

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE IN NEWARK BY AGE



year. She was determined that she wasn't teaching any black child. She wouldn't come to school till the day I got promoted out of the fifth grade. Then she came back to school to teach.

Another Afro-American who moved north into an integrated school, fifty-seven-year-old Ethel Thomas, says the teachers were the main offenders.

It was vastly different from what I had been used to in Norfolk, an all-black school with black teachers. Here I was with ninety percent of my classmates white and white teachers. There was quite an adjustment to be made.

I didn't have too much of a problem with my classmates. But the instructors, you could see the prejudice was there. You could see it in the way they handled the white students and the way they handled the black students. For example, whenever something went wrong the black students were told, "You're sixteen now." If you were sixteen, you could be put out of school.

Mary Nagao, a sixty-year-old Japanese, tells how another group was treated.

When I went to school there was something like a gentlemen's agreement. You kind of accepted it because it was done that way. As you grow up, of course, you realize that it isn't that way at all.

For instance, the Mexican and Japanese children were usually seated at the back of the classroom. If the new textbooks ran out as they were being passed out, we got the older ones. We were always last in the cafeteria food line. When game equipment was passed out, it usually wasn't handed to any of us. We were never given the privilege of being captain or leader.

So although no one was physically abusive, there was that quiet snobbery. "You stay in your place and we'll leave you alone." It started

Between 1930 and 1940 school attendance in Newark rose among some groups, especially black girls five to fifteen and all students sixteen to nineteen. Attendance dropped among whites between twenty and twenty four. Compiled from United States Census Bureau figures.

in the lower grades and you learned to accept it to a point. You learned to work around it.

You learned maybe from all of this a little more human understanding than most other people. You learned to be a bit more patient.

TRYING TO SAVE THE OLD

Members of many ethnic groups sensed that while the public schools opened doors of opportunity for their children, there was a cost. Learning to make it in America often meant shedding old-world culture. Some groups tried to offset this Americanization of their children. Although they desired to be Americans, they did not want their children to reject their ethnic heritage.

A great many American ethnic groups, particularly in the past hundred years, have been Catholic in religion. These groups have had a special reason for wanting to resist public education, which has traditionally had a Protestant orientation. The church provided a ready means of setting up new institutions. Catholic groups such as the Irish, Poles, French Canadians, Italians, Catholic Ukrainians, and Catholic Germans, therefore, organized schools in their parishes.

These schools not only taught religion to help Catholic children preserve their faith against both the lure and the hostility of the non-Catholic world. Many of them were identified with particular ethnic groups, whose identity they worked to preserve by teaching language and history. Forty-six-year-old Rose Donahue, an Italian, went to an Italian Catholic school in Jersey City.

They had Italian nuns from Italy and the monseigneur was an Italian from Italy. There was a public school but my mother felt that the Italian school would be better for learning religion and things like that.

They also taught Italian until the Second World War started. The discipline was very strict and there was a concentration on music and religion. There was also a lot of homework and a lot of going to church and singing in the church choir. You were in the church choir from the fourth to the eighth grade. By the time you were in the eighth grade, you knew how to sing mass in English, Latin, and Italian.

Many students, like Mary Petrozzo, found that a school's particular ethnic composition made life difficult for children of other ethnic groups.

We went to St. Margaret's, the Catholic school here in Morristown. It

A group of school children in Latvian costume. From the Lidums Family Collection, courtesy of the Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies.

was an Irish school, and we Italians got no breaks. All of the Italian children were kept in one room. There was no kindergarten, but from the first to the fifth grade we were all in one room. The teacher would teach the first grade, the second grade, and so forth all in one room. And when we went out at recess and played, none of the Irish wanted us to jump rope. They wanted us to turn the rope.

Some schools actually excluded children of other ethnic groups, even though they were Catholics. Josephine Drago, an Italian who is eighty-two, remembers:

We used to live a couple blocks away from St. Bridget's School, a Catholic school. I wanted to put my children in that school, but they wouldn't accept them because they were Italian. That was an Irish school so I had to send my children to public school.

Since the 1920s, however, the parochial schools have increasingly defined

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

their community more by religious affiliation than nationality. For example, Mrs. Drago points out that St. Bridget's now takes pupils of any background.

The Catholic schools were not the only institutions set up to try to preserve ethnic heritage in the new generation. Some groups established part-time schools which their children attended after public school or on weekends. In these schools, sometimes called "day schools" or "Saturday schools," students studied their ancestral language and history. Some received religious instruction as well.

ANTOINETTE BJORKLUND, GREEK, FIFTY: When we were youngsters we had to keep up the language and so forth. You had to go to what they called Greek school in addition to American school. Twice a week you would trek up to Greek school to learn to read and write Greek. We kept that up for years. I guess I was about twelve by the time I finished.

EDITH SHALLENBERGER, GERMAN, FIFTY-ONE: Every Saturday I went to German school. It was at Turner's Hall,* which was later taken over by Temple University. First it was gym classes and then swimming, and then in the afternoon we had German reading and writing classes. I learned German script. We also learned German songs.

Every so often, like prior to Christmas or Easter or whatever the holiday might be, they'd have like a kinderfest.* The children would perform and the parents would come. Afterwards there would be dancing and food.

The German school was also connected with a German radio station. Maybe once a month the whole kindercorps would go and sing German songs over the radio station.

HILDA MALKIN, JEWISH, FIFTY-NINE: I attended Hebrew school on 116th Street in Harlem* from age six to age twelve. There was no formal graduation, and in those days there were no bas mitzvahs.* Hebrew school was very important. I had to learn to read Hebrew, to pray, to know a little Hebrew, so that when I grew up I would be able to pass this heritage on to the next generation.

To millions of immigrants and ethnics the public schools have offered opportunities to learn the ways of a new environment and a chance to prosper. For many Afro-Americans, Hispanics and Orientals, however, the benefits have been fewer.

And in nearly all ethnic groups, some members have had to make a difficult choice. Since the schools were the agents of mainstream American culture, success in the schools has often come at the expense of cultural preservation. Many ethnics made this trade happily. Others were not so sure; for them learning the attitudes and skills of a new culture may not have seemed as important as preserving family ties and the culture of home.

NOTES ON THE SPEAKERS

Mildred Arnold, an Afro-American, is the oldest of the nine children of Edward and Minnie Mack. She was born December 23, 1913, in the town of North, South Carolina, where her father was a sharecropper. When she was ten her father moved to Newark to become a construction worker. With her mother and four younger siblings, Mrs. Arnold joined him a few months later, and she has lived in Newark ever since. She left school in the eighth grade and worked briefly as a domestic. She married Joseph Arnold in 1932 and had three daughters. She was divorced in 1944. Mrs. Arnold was the first black woman hired by Celanese, for which she worked during World War II. She spent twenty-five years with a catering business, and then taught for ten years in a day-care program. She retired in 1978. Meanwhile, in 1967, she returned to school at night. She has obtained her high-school diploma and is working toward an associate's degree at Essex County College.

Itsuke "Iddy" Asada, fifty-two, is a Nisei.* She was born in Salinas, California — once known as "the lettuce capital of the world" — where her father was a farm laborer. During World War II, when Mrs. Asada was a teenager, her family was confined in Arizona in a detention camp for Japanese. They found jobs at Seabrook Farms in 1945. Mrs. Asada earned a certificate from a tailoring school in Philadelphia and then returned to Seabrook Farms, intending to work there only temporarily. But she stayed for thirty-one years, and now works in the office of a food processing plant. She was married in 1953 to another Nisei, whom she knew in the detention camp and met again at Seabrook. They live in Bridgeton, Cumberland County. Their son, a graduate of West Point, is a career army officer.

NOTE: We have given the ages of the speakers during the school year 1979–1980, when they were interviewed.

Antoinette Bjorklund was born in Philadelphia fifty years ago. Her parents were Greek immigrants. She grew up in Philadelphia, where her father owned a restaurant. After finishing high school, she worked briefly as a sales clerk at the John Wanamaker department store and as an office clerk with a short-lived magazine called *Your American Hardware*. In 1949, soon after the magazine went out of business, she married John Bjorklund, a Swede. They have three children. Since the early 1950s they have lived in Millville, Cumberland County.

Minna Brenman, fifty-four, was born in Lublin, Poland, of Jewish parents. She was raised in Lublin, where her father owned a large lumber business. After the Germans invaded Poland in 1939 Mrs. Brenman, her parents, and her older sister were sent to concentration camps. Freed by American troops in 1945, Mrs. Brenman located her father, the only other member of the family who survived the camps. They settled in Frankfurt, Germany, where her father worked to resettle Jewish refugees. In 1948 they came to New York City. Mrs. Brenman worked in a clothing factory and attended night school to study English and learn the millinery trade. Later she worked in a millinery shop. She was married in the early 1950s and has two children. She and her husband live in Matawan, Monmouth County.

Marie Brown, fifty-nine, was one of eight children of an Italian immigrant couple. She was born and raised in Vineland, Cumberland County. In the ninth grade she left school to go to work after her father became ill. She was married a few years later and has two children. She lives with her husband in Vineland.

Irene Kish Bullock, sixty-four, is the daughter of Hungarian immigrants. She was born and raised in Jersey City. When she was sixteen her parents moved to Dorothy, Atlantic County, to raise poultry, but Mrs. Bullock stayed behind with family friends to attend Jersey City Normal School. She later earned a B.A. at Glassboro State College and started teaching. Eventually she became the principal of an elementary school in Dorothy. She and her husband, an automobile dealer, have three children.

Jennie Rossi Caterina, seventy-five, was born and raised in Landisville, Atlantic County. She was one of eight children of an Italian immigrant couple. She left school at fourteen to care for the younger children and help on the family farm. She started working outside her home at sixteen; after a year in a cannery she took a job in a garment factory. She married John Rossi in 1933. He died ten years later, leaving her

with three children. After fourteen years as a widow she married James Caterina, with whom she lives in Vineland, Cumberland County.

Louise Coulter, a fifty-eight-year-old Italian, is the third of four children of Angelo Cardana, a baker, and his wife, Palmeira. The Cardanas spent thirteen years in the United States and had their first two children here, but went back to Italy before Mrs. Coulter was born. Members of the family started returning to this country in 1929. Mrs. Coulter and her mother and younger brother came when she was fourteen. She lived in New York City for thirteen years, finishing the ninth grade and going to work in a women's clothing factory. In 1949 she married and moved to Vineland, Cumberland County. She and her husband have four children. They live in Vineland.

Mary DeFalco, sixty-three, is a daughter of first-generation Italian immigrants. She has lived in Vineland, Cumberland County, all her life. She and her twin sister finished eighth grade before they went to work on the family farm. She later took a night course in typing and bookkeeping at the Vineland Business School. Since 1942 she has been a bookkeeper for the Vineland Produce Auction. In 1945 she married James DeFalco, a mechanic who worked for the state government. He is now retired. The DeFalcos have one daughter.

Natalie Diorio, an Austrian, was born in 1911 in a small town in the Alps. When she was eight she and her mother came to the United States to join her father, who was already here. He worked in the boiler room at the Vineland State School. Mrs. Diorio left school in the seventh grade to help care for her six younger siblings after her mother became chronically ill. From the age of seventeen until she was fifty-two she worked as a garment maker. She married Joseph Diorio, a pipefitter, in 1935, and has two sons. She lives in Vineland, Cumberland County.

Rose Donahue was born Rose DeRosa in 1932 in Jersey City, one of three children of an Italian immigrant couple. She grew up in Jersey City, where her father operated a butcher shop. After graduating from a parochial high school she worked in a Wall Street brokerage firm and in her father's store. Married in 1953, she has six children. Her husband worked in her father's store for many years. The family now lives in Monmouth County.

Regina Dottavio, seventy-nine, was born in Italy, the oldest of nine children. When she was three, her parents brought her to this country.

They started out as cotton sharecroppers in Louisiana, then moved to Vineland, Cumberland County, and worked as field hands until they could buy a farm. Mrs. Dottavio quit school before the eighth grade to help with the housework and care for her brothers and sisters. She married a farmer when she was twenty-one, and she had two sons and a daughter. Her sons now operate the family farm. Mrs. Dottavio has spent nearly her whole life in Vineland.

Josephine Drago was born in 1897 in Italy. Her father immigrated alone and became a dockworker in Bayonne, Hudson County. The rest of the family came to join him when Mrs. Drago was sixteen. They settled in New York, where Mrs. Drago began a lifelong career as a garment worker. She has three children, five grandchildren and six great-grandchildren. She lives in Jersey City.

Anna Erin Screen Forsman was born in 1922 in Menlough, County Galway, Ireland, to a couple that had immigrated to the United States, married here, and then returned to Ireland. The family came back to America when Mrs. Forsman was nearly four. They spent six years in the Bronx and one in Manhattan, then moved to Brooklyn, where she finished school. She married John Forsman, a commercial fisherman from Sea Bright, Monmouth County, in 1948. They had seven children. Mrs. Forsman lives in Lincroft, Monmouth County.

Emma Gawinowicz was born in 1919 in Kincaid, Illinois, to an Italian immigrant family. Her father was a coal miner. When Emma was six months old her mother took her, her older sister, and her brother to Italy, where they stayed for twelve years. In 1931 they rejoined Mrs. Gawinowicz's father, who had begun farming in Vineland, Cumberland County. Mrs. Gawinowicz attended school for two years, then quit to go to work. She lives in Vineland.

Sarah Gillis, a forty-eight-year-old Afro-American, was born in South Carolina, where her father owned two farms. She was one of twelve children. As a teenager she moved to New York to live with her aunt and uncle and go to night school. She planned to go on to college, but her uncle became ill and she had to work instead. She has learned sewing, shorthand, typing and keypunch. An early marriage ended in divorce after fifteen years. In 1978 she married Walter Gillis, a life insurance salesman for Prudential. She has four stepchildren and one adopted daughter. She lives in Newark.

Anna Groener, an eighty-year-old German, is the oldest of eleven children of Adolph and Sophie Roth. When she was eleven she was brought to this country by her aunt and uncle, who lived in Newark. She never saw her immediate family again. While she attended school, Anna did chores at home and in the saloon her aunt and uncle operated. She left school at fourteen, after sixth grade, to continue helping her aunt and uncle. Four years later she became a waitress at Bamberger's department store. In 1923 she married Joseph Ruck, a printer with the *Newark News*, and quit work at his insistence. They had a son in 1925. Joseph Ruck died suddenly in 1935 of pneumonia. Four years later she married Frank Groener, an electrician at RCA, who also had a son from a previous marriage. Two years later a third boy was born. Mrs. Groener and her husband live in Navesink, Monmouth County. They have twelve grandchildren and eleven great-grandchildren.

Brenda Harris, a twenty-six-year-old Afro-American, was born in Woodson, North Carolina. Her parents separated when she was about six, and she was raised by her father and grandmother. After she finished high school she came to Newark, where her mother lived. She has worked as a clerk with Prudential Insurance and Western Electric, been a substitute teacher, and held other jobs. She lives in Newark.

Samuel Ichinaga, whose parents were Japanese immigrants, was born in 1908 in Fresno, California. His father was a dairy farmer. Mr. Ichinaga, the fourth of five children, left school in the ninth grade to help support the family by working in a vineyard. He saved money and bought a gas station with one of his brothers. He was married in 1934. In 1941 poor health forced him to give up his business and take a job in a plant nursery. He was sent to a detention camp in Jerome, Arkansas, with his wife and three children in 1942. They moved from there to Seabrook, Cumberland County, in 1945, and Mr. Ichinaga worked for Seabrook Farms until retiring. He lives with his wife in Bridgeton, Cumberland County.

Mae Ikeda, a seventy-one-year-old Nisei,* was born in Salinas, California. She is the oldest of ten children. Her father came to this country from Japan as a recruiter and supervisor of Japanese sugar-beet workers. Her mother joined him in 1908, and they bought a farm. In 1928 he was killed in a car accident, leaving Mrs. Ikeda responsible for the farm. After graduating from the University of California at Berkeley in 1932, Mrs. Ikeda married, and she and her husband ran the farm for several

years. During World War II they were sent with their four children to a detention camp for Japanese in Arizona. After the war they came to Seabrook Farms, in Cumberland County, where Mrs. Ikeda worked in the quality control laboratory for nineteen years. Then she took a job at Bridgeton Hospital. She has been active in the Japanese-American Citizen's League since it was formed in 1930. Now retired, she lives with her husband in Bridgeton, Cumberland County.

Mary Arshelus Adanatzian Ingram, fifty-nine, is the daughter of Armenian immigrants. She was born and raised in Newark. She finished high school, attended the University of Newark (now Rutgers-Newark), did clerical work, was a union organizer, and held jobs at Western Electric and Bell Telephone. She married Samuel David Ingram in 1947 and helped him operate an auto repair business until his health failed. They spent three years on a dairy farm in upstate New York. In 1954 they returned to Newark, where Mrs. Ingram opened a decorating and antique shop. They were divorced in 1965, and Mrs. Ingram bought a shop in West Orange, Essex County. She lives in West Orange, where she has been active in civic affairs, working especially with young people.

Leah Lifschitz, the daughter of Jewish immigrants from the Ukraine, was born in Brooklyn in 1922. She finished high school in Brooklyn and became a private secretary. She was married in 1947. In time she went back to work to help her husband finish his undergraduate degree and their two sons go to college. One son became a doctor, the other a rabbi. After she retired she earned an associate's degree from Brookdale Community College. She lives with her husband in Matawan, Monmouth County. They have five grandchildren.

Hilda Malkin, who is Jewish, was born February 11, 1920, in Harlem, New York City. Her mother emigrated from Lithuania around 1904, her father from Great Russia in 1912. Until she was thirteen her parents ran a grocery store in Harlem; then they opened one in the Brownsville section of Brooklyn. Mrs. Malkin finished high school in Brooklyn and majored in German at Hunter College, graduating in 1940. After several years in Baltimore with the Social Security Administration she went to work for the New York City public schools. She was married in 1949. She received an M.A. in German at Hunter College in 1952. She has been both a teacher and a school administrator, and is now an educational associate in guidance and counseling. She has two children and lives with her husband in Matawan, Monmouth County.

Mary Nagao, born in 1920 in San Bernardino, California, was the only child of a Japanese immigrant couple. Her father raised produce and worked as a cook. While she was growing up the family lived in several places, including Cucamonga and Hawthorne, California. In 1938 she graduated from high school in East Los Angeles and married Charles Nagao. She had twin daughters in 1939. During World War II the Nagaos were held in a detention camp at Manzanar, California. After they were released in 1944 they found jobs at Seabrook Farms in Seabrook, Cumberland County. They had a son in 1950. Mrs. Nagao lives with her husband in Bridgeton, Cumberland County, and is the microfilm systems supervisor for the county.

(Mrs. Nagao's husband, Charles, was also interviewed for this project.)

Louis Nana was born in Italy in 1904. His family came to the United States when he was sixteen months old; they lived in Queens for about twenty years, then moved to Newark. Mr. Nana believes that if his family had been financially secure he would have become an operatic tenor (he sang twice during his interview). As it was, however, he had to leave school after eighth grade. He worked as a plumber's helper for a year, then became a tool and die maker. He is also a skilled auto mechanic, winemaker and watch repairman. During the Great Depression, when industrial jobs were scarce, he owned and operated a watch repair shop in Newark. He returned to tool and die making in the late 1930s and worked for the Bendix Corporation and other companies until he retired. He lives in Hazlet, Monmouth County, with his wife of fifty-nine years. They have three children and eight grandchildren.

Mary Petrozzo, the daughter of Italian immigrants, was born in 1884 in Morristown, Morris County. She was the seventh child. Her mother died soon after she was born; her father remarried and had eighteen more children. Mrs. Petrozzo left school after third grade to help care for the family and work in her father's bakery. At sixteen she married Frank Petrozzo and joined in the operation of his grocery store. She has seven children and nineteen great-grandchildren. She lives in Morristown.

Maria Rosario, twenty-two, was born in Puerto Rico, one of twelve children. She and her family came to the United States when she was fourteen. They spent five years in New York, then moved to Perth Amboy, Middlesex County. After high school Miss Rosario moved to Newark, where she had relatives. She attended Essex County College for a year, and later became a secretary there.

Michael Roselli came to this country from Italy with his mother and younger brother in 1915, when he was five. They joined his father, who worked on the docks and in the construction industry, in West Hoboken, now part of Union City, Hudson County. About eight years later the father died, and Michael had to quit school. He worked in an aluminum factory and a gas station, fixed cars at Sears, and drove a truck. He was married in 1937. Retired, he lives in Weehawken, Hudson County, with his wife; their son lives nearby in Palisades Park, Bergen County.

Josephine Rossi was born in 1913 in Rosenhayn, Cumberland County. She was one of four children of an Italian immigrant couple who had moved there from Philadelphia. She left school after seventh grade to help on the family farm. At fourteen she went to work in a clothing factory, and in 1934 she married Joseph Rossi, also a garment worker. The mother of two children, she lives in Vineland, Cumberland County.

Abdullah Shabazz, an Afro-American, was born in Georgia in 1951. He is one of twelve children. He left school in the eleventh grade. In 1969 he moved to Newark to live with one of his sisters, and he finished high school there in 1970. He worked in a foundry and held other jobs, then became a professional artist. He was converted to the Muslim faith in 1970. He has two children.

Edith Shallenberger was born in 1924 in Kirchhain, Germany. She and her mother came to this country in 1930 to join her father, a machinist, who had moved to Philadelphia several years earlier. Mrs. Shallenberger finished high school in Philadelphia, went to business school, and worked in the statistics department of the Atlantic Oil Refining Company for five years. She was married in 1947. She has two daughters and lives in Vineland, Cumberland County, with her husband, who is a partner in a coin-operated electronic machines business.

Concepcion Simone, a Mexican, grew up in Fabens, Texas, where she was born in 1934. She was one of ten children of a farm-machinery driver. She earned a B.A. from the University of Texas at El Paso and taught elementary school in Fabens and El Paso. In 1966 she moved to Camden, where her husband, Sebastian, went to work for RCA. She taught in Camden and later returned briefly to El Paso to finish graduate studies. She lives with her husband and their three children in Vineland, Cumberland County.

Celia Soloway, a Jew, was born in 1900 in Vilna, which is now the

capital of the Lithuanian Republic in the Soviet Union. At twelve she learned dressmaking. She came to this country in 1922 with her mother and her younger brother and sister. They settled in Brooklyn, joining her oldest sister and her husband. Mrs. Soloway worked in a factory making ladies' nightgowns for four years, then got married. She had a son and a daughter. A widow, she lives in West New York, Hudson County.

Rebecca Taylor, a seventy-six-year-old Afro-American, was born in Clinton, South Carolina. She was one of eleven children. She spent part of her childhhood with an aunt in Charleston but finished high school in Clinton. After graduating from Barber Scotia College (Concord, South Carolina), she taught school and worked for the Presbyterian Church for several years. She married Leslie Allen Taylor, who became the pastor of the Bethel Presbyterian Church in Plainfield, Union County, in 1931. They had two children. After her husband died in 1952, Mrs. Taylor worked in Plainfield and at Barber Scotia College. She also spent twelve years as a counseling supervisor for juvenile offenders in New York. Retired since 1968, she lives in Plainfield.

Ethel Thomas, a fifty-seven-year-old Afro-American, was born and raised in Norfolk, Virginia. She came to Newark in 1937 with her brother and sister to join their parents, who had moved earlier. She finished high school, worked briefly in an umbrella factory, and then spent twenty-two years as an assembler of electronic equipment at General Electric. Married at seventeen, she has a son and a daughter. She lives in Newark.

Edite Virkus was born in 1934 in Liepaja, Latvia. She and her family migrated to Germany in 1944 to escape the Russian reoccupation of their country, and they came to the United States in 1950. They settled in Ballston Spa, New York, where Mrs. Virkus finished high school and worked for a few years. After graduating from a business school she worked in Albany and New York City. She is married to Juri Virkus, an Estonian, and has two children. They have lived in Englishtown, Monmouth County, since 1971. She is a realtor.

(Mrs. Virkus's husband, Juri, was also interviewed for this series.)

Andrew Zukovsky was born in Philadelphia in 1921 to a Ukrainian immigrant couple. His parents died when he was a child, and he was raised by foster parents in Bucks County, Pennsylvania. In 1937, after his foster mother was widowed and remarried, the family moved to Vineland, Cumberland County, to open a flower shop. Mr. Zukovsky, a glassworker, lives in Vineland.

CAPSULE HISTORIES OF THE ETHNIC GROUPS

Afro-Americans. In 1980 the census counted about 26.5 million Afro-Americans (also called blacks or Negroes). They are one of the nation's largest ethnic groups. Their ancestors came from Africa south of the Sahara desert, particularly a 300-mile-wide strip along the west coast from Senegal to Angola.

The Afro-American experience began in 1619, when twenty blacks arrived at Jamestown, Virginia. Unlike other ethnic groups, blacks were brought here forcibly. In 1790 there were 757,000 Afro-Americans in the United States. Nearly 700,000 were held as slaves in various states, especially in the South; the rest were free.

The cotton gin, invented in 1793, enabled southern planters to raise ever-increasing amounts of cotton. As a result, they needed more and more slaves. Since the slave trade was outlawed in 1808, virtually cutting off the supply of new slaves from Africa, this demand was met mainly through childbirth. The number of slaves increased rapidly; the 1860 census listed almost 4 million slaves out of about 4.5 million Afro-Americans.

Slavery existed here for more than 200 years. Blacks protested against it in various ways, from running away to staging full-scale rebellions. The Thirteenth Amendment, which was adopted in 1865 as a result of the Civil War, abolished it.

From then until the turn of the century 90 percent of America's blacks stayed in the South. Many continued to farm, renting land in a system called sharecropping. They suffered new kinds of oppression: sharecropping trapped them in endless debt, and Jim Crow laws restricted the activities of blacks in the city as well as the country.

Afro-Americans struggled against these injustices as they had against

---

NOTE: We are indebted to the *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* for much of the material in these histories.

slavery. Some protested by migrating. They began their first massive movement from the South during World War I, when there was a sudden demand for their labor in northern industries. This exodus was interrupted by the Great Depression, but it resumed at the start of World War II and continued through the 1960s. Since 1970 almost half of all black Americans have lived outside the South, and about 90 percent have been in or near cities.

There have been blacks in New Jersey since the early colonial period. In this century southern blacks have moved here in large numbers; Afro-Americans are one of the state's largest ethnic groups, making up about 13 percent of the population. Most are in cities. There are black majorities in Camden, East Orange, Newark, Orange and Plainfield, and sizable black populations in Atlantic City, Elizabeth, Irvington, Jersey City, Paterson, Trenton, and other New Jersey cities.

Armenians. Armenia is a country in northeast Asia Minor which is today divided among Turkey, Iran and the Soviet Union. Most Armenian immigration to the United States took place in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The Armenians, who were Christian from early times, kept their civilization intact for centuries despite frequent invasions from Asia. But by the end of the sixteenth century most of the kingdom had come under foreign rule. The bulk had been conquered by the Turks, though Russia and Persia (now Iran) controlled small portions of it. The Christian Armenians occupied an uneasy position in the Moslem empire, although they were allowed to own land. Most were peasants or craftsmen.

During the nineteenth century the Armenians began to develop a nationalist movement. It strengthened in the 1890s, and the Turkish government responded with harsh oppression. Conflict grew until 1915, when more than a million Armenians were exterminated.

After World War I the survivors established a small republic in one corner of their original homeland. It was absorbed by the Soviet Union in 1920.

During the 1890s Armenians began moving to various parts of the world to escape Turkish persecution. About one hundred thousand came to the United States before 1924. A few of these came from Russian Armenia between 1898 and 1914.

Most of the first immigrants were men who took low-paying jobs in factories and lived in boardinghouses nearby. Many sent part of their wages back to their families in Armenia. In the mid-1890s growing numbers of women began to immigrate. At the end of World War I about two-thirds of the arrivals were women and children.

Most Armenians started as unskilled laborers, finding jobs in the iron, steel, textile, footwear and rubber industries. Many eventually opened groceries, meat markets, shoe-repair or tailor shops, and other small businesses.

Nearly all Armenian immigrants belonged to the Armenian Apostolic Church, which has been independent of both the Catholic and Orthodox churches since the sixth century. The church, an important part of Armenian life in this country, is the major guardian of Armenian language, culture and identity.

Before 1920 most Armenians settled in cities in New York, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Smaller communities were established in many midwestern cities. The only large agricultural community was in the vicinity of Fresno, California.

After 1920 immigrating Armenians tended to bypass the Northeast for the employment opportunities of the Midwest. But the restrictive immigration laws of the early 1920s slowed Armenian immigration, and it did not resume until after World War II. The Displaced Persons Act of 1948 permitted about 4,500 Armenian refugees to enter from the Soviet Union. More immigrated between 1951 and 1965, most of them Palestinian Armenians displaced by the Arab-Israeli conflict. After 1965, when the Immigration and Nationality Act abolished national quotas, Armenians from Lebanon, Egypt, Turkey, Syria and the Soviet Union moved to the United States.

Most of New Jersey's Armenians have settled in northern cities, especially Hackensack, Paterson, Roselle Park, Newark and West Hoboken (now Union City). New Jersey ranks fourth in Armenian population, behind California, Massachusetts and New York.

Austrians. Until the end of World War I the Census Bureau identified a variety of ethnic groups as Austrian, so the statistics on Austrian immigration in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are confused. But we do know that most Austrian immigrants left home for reasons that were widespread across Eastern Europe: there was not enough land for them all to farm, and there were not enough industrial jobs to employ the extra workers.

Few Austrians arrived here before the 1860s. After the Civil War they came in growing numbers, peaking around 1910. World War I interrupted the influx temporarily, but it resumed in 1919. It declined after Congress passed restrictive immigration laws in the early 1920s; it slowed to a trickle during the Great Depression.

Two smaller groups of Austrians have arrived since 1930. Several thousand Austrian Jews fled the Nazis before World War II, though for

the most part we do not identify them as members of the Austrian-American community. About 40,000 Austrians arrived between 1945 and 1960; most of these were well educated or technically trained, as the postwar immigration standards required. Austrian immigration dropped sharply during the 1970s. The 1980 census records about 950,000 people of Austrian birth or descent.

The largest Austrian settlements in the United States are in Connecticut, New Jersey, New York and Pennsylvania. Smaller communities have formed in many midwestern states and, more recently, in California and Florida. The Austrians have become farmers, miners, iron and steel workers, saloon keepers, bakers, slaughterhouse and meatpacking workers, and members of service occupations. More recent generations have become doctors, dentists, or managers. In New Jersey the largest Austrian communities are in the Paterson-Clifton-Passaic area.

Germans. There have been Germans in North America since the seventeenth century, but they did not begin to arrive in great numbers until after 1820. Since the colonial period more Germans have immigrated to the United States than any other ethnic group. Roughly 35 million Americans have some German ancestry.

About 6.9 million Germans came here between 1820 and 1970. Nearly 5 million arrived in the peak period from 1840 to 1900. They began emigrating in the 1820s because the Napoleonic wars and a series of poor harvests had disrupted the European economy.

During the following years they found a variety of other reasons to emigrate. Political repression drove liberals out in the 1830s and late 1840s, and forced socialists to flee in the 1880s. Religious intolerance drove out many non-Protestants in the 1870s. Some Germans left to avoid military conscription.

However, most Germans emigrated for economic reasons. The population rose until there were too many people for the land. At the same time German factories were undermining the cottage industries that helped many agricultural workers live, but were not able to offer jobs to everyone.

Most German immigrants came from the southern and southwestern German states. The majority were agricultural laborers and small farmers; the rest were mainly artisans, tradesmen and shopkeepers.

About one-third of the German immigrants were Catholic. Most of the rest adhered to the German Protestant churches — Lutheran, Evangelical, and Reformed. There were also Jews, Methodists and Pietists.

Though Germans scattered throughout the United States, most settled in the Mid-Atlantic and upper Midwestern states. Boston, Charleston,

Chicago, Cleveland, New York City and Philadelphia all had large German communities. A great German triangle of settlement developed between the Mississippi and Ohio rivers, bounded by Cincinnati, Milwaukee and St. Louis. Germans worked at many of the same skilled occupations here as at home: tailoring, cigarmaking, cabinetmaking, retailing, mining, manufacturing, agriculture, baking, and brewing. Relatively few German women worked. Those who did generally chose to provide services — to be servants, laundresses, or bakers, for example — rather than work in factories or do clerical jobs that required English.

New Jersey attracted many Germans. German communities are scattered throughout the state, with heavy concentrations in Essex and Hudson counties. Hoboken, Jersey City, Newark, Union City, Weehawken, West Hoboken and West New York all have large German communities. Carlstadt (Passaic County), Egg Harbor City (Atlantic County) and Guttenberg (Hudson County) are predominantly German.

Greeks. There are between 1.5 million and 3 million Greek-Americans. The statistics are not precise because many Greeks came from Turkey, Rumania and Egypt and were not listed as Greeks by the immigration officials. Like other southern European groups, the Greeks immigrated mostly from the 1880s to the 1920s, when restrictive immigration laws were passed.

Greeks left their homeland for the same reasons as other southern European immigrants — there were too many people for the land. But of the millions who emigrated, nearly half eventually returned home. Some were sojourners, some returned for military service, others simply found it hard to choose between Greece and America and went back and forth several times.

Most Greeks chose to live in cities, where industry offered steady employment. California and the industrializing states of the North, such as Illinois and New York, drew the largest settlements. Greeks went to work in textile mills, steel mills, tanneries, slaughterhouses, railroad construction crews, and small businesses such as flower shops, fruit and vegetable stands, and restaurants.

Poor economic conditions and political unrest produced a second wave of Greek immigration after World War II. Most of the new immigrants were unskilled workers, but there were more professionals and skilled workers than in earlier groups. About 46,000 Greeks came here between 1946 and 1960, and more than 142,000 arrived between 1961 and 1975.

New Jersey's Greek population is large and dispersed. The largest communities are in Newark, the Oranges, Jersey City, Clifton, Dover, Fairview, Paterson, Tenafly, Hackensack, Perth Amboy, Piscataway, New

Brunswick, Red Bank, Westfield, Wyckoff, Trenton, Cherry Hill, Toms River, Colt's Neck, Vineland and the shore communities of Atlantic City, North Wildwood and Asbury Park.

Hungarians. The Hungarians, or Magyars, are closer ethnically to the Finns, Estonians and Lapps of distant northern Europe than to their neighbors in Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Rumania and the Ukraine. There are perhaps one million persons of Hungarian descent in this country, but this figure is imprecise because national boundaries have shifted and immigration and census officials have been inconsistent. Hungarians were part of the wave of immigration from central and eastern Europe that lasted from the 1880s to World War I. Between 1899 and 1914 about 460,000 immigrated. Hungarians struggling to overcome debt, high taxes and irregular employment found the expanding economy of the industrial United States attractive.

These immigrants were drawn to northern Illinois and Indiana, eastern Ohio, western Pennsylvania, and West Virginia, where they could work in coal mining and the steel industry. Chicago, Cleveland, New York and Pittsburgh also acquired large Hungarian populations. Many Hungarian immigrants settled in New Jersey before World War I, especially in New Brunswick and Passaic. Hungarians also settled in Elizabeth, Irvington, Jersey City, Linden, Manville, Perth Amboy, South River, Trenton, Woodbridge, and elsewhere.

In later years Hungarian immigrants settled in the same places. About 60,000 have entered this country since World War II. The first 25,000 arrived just after the war as displaced persons or as refugees from Hungary's new Communist regime. The remaining 35,000 were among the 200,000 who fled Hungary after the failure of the Hungarian revolt of 1956.

Irish. From the colonial period to the First World War Ireland provided America with large numbers of immigrants. The Irish were the second largest immigrant group in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; only the Germans exceeded them.

Some Irish Catholics came to Virginia and the Chesapeake Bay area as servants in the seventeenth century. Many Protestants came in the eighteenth century; by 1790 about 40,000 Irish, half of them Catholic and half Protestant, had settled here.

Between 1820 and 1920 about 4.7 million Irish immigrants came. Four million, almost all Catholic, arrived during the nineteenth century, driven from home by overpopulation, high rents, tenant evictions, and a succession of bad harvests. Many came to escape the famine of 1845.

A smaller wave of Irish immigrants came in the 1920s. Another began in the late 1940s and lasted through the 1950s.

Most Irish immigrants settled in cities. The early settlers went to Baltimore, Boston, New York City, Philadelphia and Providence; later arrivals settled further west in Chicago, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, San Francisco and other cities. By 1870 the Irish outnumbered every other immigrant group in California. In 1880 a third of all Irish immigrants lived outside the Eastern Seaboard.

The Irish are unique among immigrant groups in that more women immigrated than men. Generally, the new arrivals found unskilled or semiskilled work. The men became laborers, soldiers, policemen, railroad workers and miners. The women worked mainly as domestics. The few skilled or white-collar workers tended to settle further west than the others.

The Irish have made up a significant portion of New Jersey's population for some time. They have large communities in Elizabeth, Jersey City, Newark, New Brunswick, Paterson and Trenton.

Italians. The Italians are one of the largest ethnic groups in the United States. More than five million have arrived since 1820, the vast majority between 1880 and 1920. Before 1860 most came from northern Italy; nearly 14,000 arrived between 1820 and 1860, the majority in the 1850s. Although they scattered throughout the nation, the largest numbers went to California and New York.

A massive emigration from southern Italy began in the 1880s. In 1860 Italy's many rival, independent states were united into a single nation. Southern Italian peasants supported unity and hoped to benefit from it, but were disappointed. There were too many people for the land, the agricultural economy was weak, and northern Italians controlled the country and discriminated against them.

The majority of the southern Italian immigrants were sojourners — young men who planned to work for one or two years and then return to Italy with the money they made. Between 1899 and 1924 about 3.8 million Italians entered the United States and 2.1 million returned to Italy. Immigration stabilized after 1900, when more women and children began to come.

Although they were peasants, most Italians settled in industrial areas and held a variety of jobs. Men worked in the clothing industry, the building trades, restaurants and other service occupations, and the fishing and shipping industries. Women took jobs in the garment, silk, artificial flower, candy, lace, and cigar industries. A few Italians became successful farmers — particularly the northern Italians in California.

Large Italian communities developed in industrial cities like Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Denver, Detroit, Kansas City, Milwaukee, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and St. Louis. There are also many Italians in the states of Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island.

Italians are New Jersey's largest ethnic group. The state has significant Italian populations in its main industrial cities — Camden, Hoboken, Jersey City, Newark, Paterson, Trenton and Union — and in its southern agricultural areas, especially in and around Vineland.

Japanese. One of America's largest Asian ethnic groups is the Japanese. In 1980 there were 791,000 people of Japanese descent in the United States.

Significant immigration began in the 1890s to supply cheap labor in agriculture, railroad building, mining and other industries. In 1890 there were twelve thousand in Hawaii and three thousand on the mainland, mostly in California. In 1920 there were 220,000 in the country; half of these, mostly first-generation immigrants, were on the mainland, particularly on the West Coast. In all, nearly 300,000 entered the country between 1891 and 1924, but some remigrated.

The Japanese faced considerable racial hostility. Discriminatory laws denied citizenship to first-generation Japanese and limited their property rights severely. In 1924 they and other alien groups were denied entry altogether.

In the early 1940s, after Japan attacked Pearl Harbor, there was a wave of hysteria against the Japanese on the West Coast. More than 110,000 (of whom two-thirds had been born here and were therefore American citizens) were unconsititutionally confined in concentration camps on the allegation that they posed a threat to national security. Hawaiian Japanese were not detained.

New Jersey had few Japanese until the end of World War II, when 3,000 people from the detention camps accepted jobs at Seabrook Farms in the southern part of the state. This was the only concentration of Japanese on the East Coast. Japanese immigration resumed in the 1970s. The 1980 census reported that there were approximately 10,000 Japanese in New Jersey.

Jews. The Jewish ethnic group is unusual because its members did not come here from a specific geographical area. It is impossible to find out exactly how many Jews have immigrated because they were counted in the statistics for the countries they came from.

There have been Jews in the New World since the seventeenth century,

though there were not many until the middle of the nineteenth. Most of the early arrivals were Sephardic Jews from Spain or Portugal. Millions of Ashkenazi Jews came during the mass European migrations of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Three more groups have arrived since the 1930s.

More than 250,000 Jews immigrated before 1880, mostly from Germany or the German-speaking parts of Central Europe. Generally young and unmarried, these immigrants settled in cities across the United States and worked in many of the same occupations they had had in Europe: tailoring, small-scale merchandising, shoemaking, and peddling.

These immigrants adapted quickly to middle class life in the United States. Jewish communities developed along the peddlers' distribution network: in Chicago, Cincinnati, Milwaukee, New Orleans, St. Louis, San Francisco and elsewhere. By the 1850s Jews were involved in meatpacking, shoe manufacture and large-scale retailing.

Between 1880 and 1920, 2.7 million Jews came to the United States from eastern Europe — Russia, Poland, Austria-Hungary and Rumania — where the laws had forced them to settle in designated areas, limited their economic activities, and allowed their neighbors to persecute them intensely. These immigrants settled in the large cities of the Northeast and Midwest. They supplied the garment industry and other trades with skilled workers, and immigrant neighborhoods with small shops and businesses.

The flow of Jewish immigrants slowed greatly in the 1920s, when the United States imposed drastic quotas. But three separate Jewish immigrant groups have arrived since then: victims of Nazi persecution, Israelis, and Russian Jews.

Although immigration was reduced to a trickle during the Great Depression, about 150,000 Jewish refugees came from Nazi Germany during the 1930s. These were generally well-educated business people or professionals, most of whom settled in New York, Chicago, San Francisco or other large cities. The Depression made it difficult for them to resume their old professions, but most eventually established themselves.

About 300,000 Israelis have arrived since Israel was established in 1948, the majority since the late 1960s. They have come for the same kind of reasons as many other groups. They want to find economic opportunity, to live less austerely than at home, or to avoid military duty and war. Half of these immigrants, including New Jersey's sizable Israeli community, are in metropolitan New York. The rest have settled in large cities such as Chicago and Los Angeles.

The other recent Jewish immigrant group is from the Soviet Union.

About 130,000 have arrived, mostly since 1969, when Soviet emigration policy changed.

In 1970 New Jersey's Jewish population was 400,000. Almost 6 percent of the state's total population were Jews, and nearly 7 percent of all the Jews in the United States lived in New Jersey. Seventy-five percent of New Jersey's Jewish population lives in the corridor that runs from Middlesex County north through Bergen County, but other large Jewish communities have formed in Trenton, Camden and along the shore.

New Jersey is one of the few states in which Jews established farming colonies. The first of these colonies was established in the 1880s. They were located in the southern counties in Alliance, Farmingdale, Woodbine and several other communities. They thrived for many years, though now most of them have gone out of existence.

Latvians. Latvians are a small ethnic group; fewer than 100,000 persons of Latvian descent live here. Latvia, a Baltic country, is one of the fifteen republics of the Soviet Union. For most of its history Latvia has been controlled by Swedes, Poles, Germans or Russians. It was independent from 1918 until 1940, when the Soviet Union invaded it. The Germans occupied it during World War II, and the Soviets annexed it afterwards.

Although immigration officials identified some Latvians as Russians, Germans or Scandinavians, we know that fewer than five thousand lived in the United States before 1900. Latvians began to arrive in appreciable numbers after the failure of the Russian revolution of 1905. Most of the early immigrants settled in large eastern and midwestern cities and found employment as construction workers, mechanics, carpenters, bricklayers, engineers and foremen.

About ten thousand Latvians arrived between 1905 and World War II. Half of these came before the outbreak of World War I. The rate of immigration was lower after 1914 because of the war, immigration restrictions, and the Depression.

A few of the Latvian immigrants of this period were well-educated political refugees. Most began life in the United States as unskilled workers in factories, packing houses, mills, foundries, and shops. Gradually they moved into semiskilled and skilled work. Some bought property or invested in small businesses such as boarding houses, delicatessens, funeral parlors, tailor shops, restaurants and real estate agencies.

The latest and largest wave of Latvian immigrants moved to escape Nazi and Soviet oppression. More than forty thousand entered the United States between 1939 and 1951, most after 1945. These were well-educated immigrants with a strong sense of cultural identity. Like the earlier immigrants they gravitated to cities and became unskilled workers. Most

eventually resumed their old professions or began new ones.

More Latvian men have immigrated than women. About half have married outside the group.

Major areas of Latvian settlement include Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Los Angeles, Milwaukee, New York, Philadelphia and San Francisco. The largest concentrations are in New York, Massachusetts and New Jersey. In New Jersey most Latvians settled in East Orange, Elizabeth, Lakewood, Newark, New Brunswick, Seabrook and, in the early twentieth century, the seashore town of Lavallette.

Mexicans. All Mexican-American population figures are approximate, because census officials through the years have used various counting methods. But we know that Mexican-Americans are the largest Hispanic group in the country, with about 7,700,000 in the 1980 census. They are also one of the fastest-growing American ethnic groups. Between 1969 and 1980 Mexico sent the highest number of immigrants each year except 1977, when it ranked second behind Cuba.

About 90 percent of the Mexican population in the United States lives in California, Texas, Colorado, New Mexico and Arizona. These areas were part of an immense tract of southwestern territory the United States seized from Mexico between 1845 and 1854. The first large group of Mexican-Americans, about eighty thousand, did not immigrate at all but were living in those areas when America took them over.

Most actual immigrants from Mexico have come during the twentieth century. Nearly two million were recorded between 1900 and 1975, and there were undoubtedly more because the border was open until the 1920s, allowing easy passage between the two countries.

Because the immigration restrictions of the 1920s did not apply to Western Hemisphere countries, the flow of Mexican immigration continued until the Great Depression. Then the United States began strictly enforcing a literacy test to control the border; although Mexican immigrants provided welcome cheap labor in good years, they competed for jobs and relief in hard times. America remained hostile toward them until it needed Mexican laborers again during World War II.

Since 1965, when the United States reformed its immigration law, only twenty thousand Mexicans have been allowed to immigrate each year. But Mexicans continue to enter the United States, legally or not. They leave Mexico to escape poverty, inflation, and severe inequities in land distribution; they come to this country because jobs are available and wages are relatively high. Mexican immigrants are generally younger than other Latin American immigrants; most are of working or childbearing age. There are about as many men as women.

In the last forty years Mexican communities have developed in all parts of the country. Half the Mexican-Americans live in California, another 30 percent in Texas. There are growing communities throughout the Midwest and Northwest, especially in Illinois. Los Angeles, with over one million, has more people of Mexican descent than any other city except Mexico City and Guadalajara.

In 1940 Mexican-Americans were mostly rural. By 1980 they had become predominantly town-dwellers. Though many still do farm work, more and more have found skilled, semiskilled, professional, technical, managerial, and clerical jobs since World War II. Mexicans, however, are still less likely to hold such jobs than Cubans or other Hispanics.

New Jersey's Mexican community is fairly new. Most of the thirteen thousand counted in the 1980 census live in six counties — Essex, Hudson, Passaic, Burlington, Bergen and Middlesex. The state's Mexican population increases temporarily each year when seasonal agricultural workers are in the southern counties.

Puerto Ricans. The island of Puerto Rico has been a United States possession since the Spanish-American War in 1898. Puerto Ricans are American citizens subject to American law, but they cannot vote, have no voting representation in Congress, and pay no federal income tax.

About 1.5 million Puerto Ricans have moved to the United States mainland, most of them Catholic. This migration began in the 1820s, but did not reach major proportions until the end of World War II. Puerto Ricans came here for many reasons. Unemployment was high at home, transportation to the mainland was cheap, travel was unrestricted, and there was an established Puerto Rican community here.

More than half the immigrants settled in New York City, which has more Puerto Ricans than San Juan, Puerto Rico's capital and largest city. Other large communities are in Boston, Los Angeles, Miami, San Francisco, and several cities in New Jersey.

Generally, Puerto Rican immigrants are young and unskilled. Most arrived just as the cities were beginning to lose the kind of industrial jobs that sustained previous immigrant groups.

New Jersey ranks second to New York in the size of its Puerto Rican population. Camden, Elizabeth, Hoboken, Jersey City, Newark, Passaic, Paterson, Perth Amboy and Trenton have large Puerto Rican communities. There are also significant numbers of Puerto Ricans in Atlantic City, Dover, Lakewood, Long Branch, New Brunswick, and the farming region around Vineland in Cumberland County.

Ukrainians. The Ukraine is in southeastern Europe north of the Black Sea. When masses of Ukrainians began to immigrate in the 1880s, it was divided between the Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires. It was independent between 1918 and 1920. About 80 percent of it now belongs to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic of the Soviet Union.

We do not know exactly how many Ukrainians have immigrated because many of them have been identified as Austrians, Russians or Poles. Church records indicate that about half a million persons of Ukrainian descent live in the United States today.

Half of all Ukrainian immigrants came between the 1880s and World War I. They were part of the mass migration from southern and eastern Europe of the late nineteenth century. Only twenty thousand more came between 1920 and 1939 because the United States restricted immigration in the 1920s, sharply reducing the number of arrivals from southern and eastern Europe. Ukrainians immigrated during the first two periods for economic reasons -- there were too many people on too little land, and not enough factories to employ the many peasants who had no work.

About 85,000 Ukrainians, who had been displaced by German or Soviet armies during the war, arrived in the late 1940s. A fourth group of Ukranians, not very large, has arrived since 1955.

At first Ukrainians settled in the cities of the industrial Northeast and worked as unskilled laborers in mines, mills, and factories. Later they found skilled jobs in factories, foundries, and machine shops. Immigrants after World War II settled in the same areas but had somewhat different backgrounds: about 12 percent were professionals, administrators, or businessmen; 26 percent were skilled laborers; and 61 percent were unskilled laborers.

Nearly all Ukrainians still live in cities, especially in Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Newark, New York City, Philadelphia-Camden and Pittsburgh. Many other cities have smaller Ukrainian settlements. A few Ukrainians settled in farming communities.

New Jersey has fewer Ukrainians than New York or Pennsylvania. Newark has a large concentration. There are also sizable Ukrainian communities in Elizabeth, Jersey City, Passaic and Perth Amboy.

LIST OF INTERVIEWERS

INTERVIEWER	INTERVIEWEE
Mary Lou BROWN Cumberland County College	Mary DeFalco
Linda CASSIDY Cumberland County College	Jennie Rossi Caterina Josephine Chinnici Rossi
Mary L. CONSALO Cumberland County College	Regina Dottavio
Karen M. COULTER Cumberland County College	Marie Brown Louise Coulter
Lucille DONAHUE Brookdale Community College	Rose Donahue Josephine Drago
Masha EIDELHEIT Brookdale Community College	Edite Virkus
Carol FIORESI Cumberland County College	Concepcion Simone
Therese FORSMAN Brookdale Community College	Anna Erin Screen Forsman
Ronald J. GRELE New Jersey Historical Commission	Mary Petrozzo

Josephine HALMO Brookdale Community College	Leah Lifschitz Louis Nana Michael Roselli
Astrid HENNING Union College	N. Rebecca Taylor
Penelope HOLTON Essex County College	Brenda Harris
Annie JACKSON Essex County College	Sarah Gillis
Leah LIFSCHITZ Brookdale Community College	Minna Brenman Hilda Malkin
Grace MASLANKA Rutgers University (Newark)	Mary Arshelus Adanatzian Ingram
Acquanetta G. Allgood MOORE Rutgers University (Newark)	Ethel Thomas
Richard MOSS Essex County College	Maria Rosario Abdullah Shabazz
Barbara PETROSKY Cumberland County College	Natalie Diorio
Cindy POPOLILLO Brookdale Community College	Anna Groener
Carol Ann RAINES Cumberland County College	Antoinette Bjorklund Irene Kish Bullock
Cheryl SNYDER Cumberland County College	Itsuke "Iddy" Asada Samuel Ichinaga Mae Ikeda
Sharon SOLOWAY Brookdale Community College	Celia Soloway

Richard WITTENBERG Cumberland County College	Mary Nagao
Giles R. WRIGHT New Jersey Historical Commission	Mildred Arnold
James WRIGHT Cumberland County College	Edith Shallenberger
Alberta ZUKOVSKY Cumberland County College	Emma Gawinowicz Andrew Zukovsky

SUGGESTED READINGS FOR HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS:

Ethnicity and Immigration

GENERAL

Asimov, Isaac. *The Golden Door: The United States from 1865 to 1918.* Boston, 1977.

Eiseman, Alberta. *From Many Lands.* New York, 1970.

Greeley, Andrew M. *Why Can't They be Like Us?* New York, 1971.

Handlin, Oscar. *The Uprooted.* Boston, 1952.

Heaps, Willard A. *The Story of Ellis Island.* New York, 1967.

Hoff, Rhoda. *America's Immigrants: Adventures in Eyewitness History.* New York, 1967.

Huthmacher, Joseph. *A Nation of Newcomers: Ethnic Minorities in American History.* New York, 1969.

Mann, Arthur. *The One and the Many: Reflections on the American Identity.* Chicago, 1979.

Novotny, Ann. *Strangers at the Door.* New York, 1974.

Reimers, David M. *Still the Golden Door: The Third World Comes to America.* New York, 1985.

Rose, Peter, ed. *Nation of Nations: The Ethnic Experience and the Racial Crisis.* New York, 1972.

Scott, Franklin D. *The Peopling of America: Perspectives on Immigration.* Washington, 1972.

Severn, Bill. *Ellis Island: The Immigrant Years.* New York, 1971.

TeSelle, Sallie, ed. *The Rediscovery of Ethnicity.* New York, 1973.

Thernstrom, Stephan, Ann Orlov, and Oscar Handlin, eds. *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups.* Cambridge, 1980.

Vecoli, Rudolph J. *The People of New Jersey*. Princeton, 1965.

Wheeler, Thomas C., ed. *The Immigrant Experience: The Anguish of Becoming American*. New York, 1971.

Yin, Robert K., ed. *Race, Creed, Color or National Origin*. Chicago, 1973.

Ziegler, Benjamin M., ed. *Immigration: An American Dilemma*. Boston, 1953.

GROUPS

Afro-Americans

Bennett, Lerone, Jr. *Before the Mayflower: A History of the Negro in America, 1619-1964*. Baltimore, 1966.

Franklin, John Hope. *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans*. 4th ed. New York, 1974.

Hagan, Lee, Larry Greene, Leonard Harris, and Clement A. Price. "New Jersey Afro-Americans: From Colonial Times to the Present." In *The New Jersey Ethnic Experience*. Edited by Barbara Cunningham. Union City, N.J., 1977.

Meier, August, and Elliot M. Rudwick. *From Plantation to Ghetto: An Interpretive History of American Negroes*. New York, 1970.

Price, Clement Alexander. *Freedom Not Far Distant: A Documentary History of Afro-Americans in New Jersey*. Newark, N.J., 1980.

Armenians

Arlen, Michael. *Passage to Ararat*. New York, 1975.

"Armenians in America." *Ararat* 18 (Winter 1977).

Kinoian, Vartkis, Gary Kulhanjian, Florence Mardirosian, Pierre Papazian, and Gloria M. Zulmamian. "The Armenians." In *The New Jersey Ethnic Experience*. Edited by Barbara Cunningham. Union City, N.J., 1977.

Minasian, Edward. "The Armenian Immigrant Tide." In *Recent Studies in Modern Armenian History*. Edited by Edward Minasian. Cambridge, Mass., 1972.

Mirak, Robert. *Torn Between Two Lands: Armenians in America, 1890 to World War I*. Cambridge, Mass., 1983.

Tashjian, James H. *The Armenians of the United States and Canada*. Boston, 1974.

Austrians

Goldner, Franz. *Austrian Emigration: 1936-45*. New York, 1979.

Kramar, Zoltan. *From the Danube to the Hudson: U.S. Ministerial and Consular Dispatches on Immigration from the Hapsburg Monarchy: 1850-1900*. Atlanta, 1978.

Spaulding, E. Wilder. *The Quiet Invaders: The Story of the Austrian Impact upon America.* Vienna, 1968.

Germans

Billigmeier, Robert Henry. *Americans From Germany: A Study in Cultural Diversity.* Belmont, Cal., 1974.

Clark, George S. "The German Presence in New Jersey." In *The New Jersey Ethnic Experience.* Edited by Barbara Cunningham. Union City, N.J., 1977.

Gay, Kathlyn. *The Germans Helped Build America.* New York, 1971.

Huebner, Theodore. *The Germans in America.* Philadelphia, 1962.

O'Connor, Richard. *The German Americans: An Informal History.* Boston, 1968.

Wardel, Joseph. *The German Dimension of American History.* Chicago, 1979.

Greeks

Economopoulos, Louis. "Greeks in New Jersey." In *The New Jersey Ethnic Experience.* Edited by Barbara Cunningham. Union City, N.J., 1977.

Grieco, Chrysanthy Maria. "It's Greek to Me: A Drama in Three Acts." In *The New Jersey Ethnic Experience.* Edited by Barbara Cunningham. Union City, N.J., 1977.

Maisel, Albert Q. "The Greeks Among Us." *Reader's Digest* 67 (July 1955), pp. 113–118.

Saloutos, Theodore. *The Greeks in the United States.* Cambridge, Mass., 1964.

Xenides, J.P. *The Greeks in America.* New York, 1922.

Hungarians

Fermi, Laura. *Illustrious Immigrants: The Intellectual Migration from Europe, 1930–41.* Chicago, 1971.

Gracza, Rezsoe and Margaret. *The Hungarians in America.* Minneapolis, 1969.

Kramar, Zoltan. *From the Danube to the Hudson: U.S. Ministerial and Consular Dispatches on Immigration from the Hapsburg Monarchy: 1850–1900.* Atlanta, 1978.

Molnar, August J. "Hungarian Pioneers and Immigrants in New Jersey Since Colonial Days." In *The New Jersey Ethnic Experience.* Edited by Barbara Cunningham. Union City, N.J., 1977.

Irish

Connery, Donald S. *The Irish.* New York, 1970.

Cunningham, Barbara. "The Irish Americans of New Jersey." In *The New Jersey Ethnic Experience.* Edited by Barbara Cunningham. Union City, N.J., 1977.

O'Grady, Joseph. *How the Irish Became Americans.* New York, 1973.

Wittke, Carl. *The Irish in America.* New York, 1956.

Italians

Amfitheatrof, Erik. *The Children of Columbus: An Informal History of the Italians in the New World.* Boston, 1973.

Grossman, Ronald P. *The Italians in America.* Minneapolis, 1975.

Nelli, Humbert S. *From Immigrants to Ethnics: The Italian Americans.* New York, 1983.

Rolle, Andrew. *The American Italians.* Belmont, Cal., 1972.

Vecoli, Rudolph. "The Italian People of New Jersey." In *The New Jersey Ethnic Experience.* Edited by Barbara Cunningham. Union City, N.J., 1977.

Japanese

Conrat, Maisie and Richard. *Executive Order 9066: The Internment of 110,000 Japanese Americans.* San Francisco, 1972.

Dowdell, Dorothy and Joseph. *The Japanese Helped Build America.* New York, 1970.

Fukei, Budd. *The Japanese American Story.* Minneapolis, 1976.

Leathers, Noel L. *The Japanese in America.* Minneapolis, 1967.

Jews

Butwin, Frances. *The Jews of America: History and Sources.* New York, 1973.

Feingold, Henry L. *Zion in America: The Jewish Experience From Colonial Times to the Present.* New York, 1977.

Gay, Ruth. *Jews in America: A Short History.* New York, 1965.

Glazer, Nathan. *American Judaism.* Chicago, 1957.

Kurtis, Arlene Harris. *The Jews Helped Build America.* New York, 1970.

Levinger, Elma. *A History of the Jews in the United States.* New York, 1970.

Meltzer, Milton. *Never to Forget: The Jews of the Holocaust.* New York, 1976.

Pessin, Deborah. *History of the Jews in America.* New York, 1957.

Schappes, Morris U., ed. *The Jews in the United States, A Pictorial History, 1654 to the Present.* New York, 1965.

Shapiro, Edward S. "The Jews of New Jersey." In *The New Jersey Ethnic Experience.* Edited by Barbara Cunningham. Union City, N.J., 1977.

Studtler, Bea. *The Holocaust: A History of Courage and Resistance.* New York, 1974.

Latvians

Akmentins, Osvalds. *Latvians in Bicentennial America.* Waverly, Iowa, 1976.

Donis, Ernest, and Daumants Hazners. "New Jersey's Latvian Americans." In *The New Jersey Ethnic Experience.* Edited by Barbara Cunningham. Union City, N.J., 1977.

Karklis, Maruta, Liga Streips, and Laimonis Streips. *The Latvians in America, 1640–1973: A Chronology and Fact Book.* Dobbs Ferry, N.Y., 1974.

Mexicans

Coy, Harold. *Chicano Roots Go Deep.* New York, 1975.

Grebler, Leo, Joan W. Moore, and Ralph C. Gusman. *The Mexican American People: The Nation's Second Largest Minority.* New York, 1970.

Haddox, John. *Los Chicanos: An Awakening People.* El Paso, Texas, 1970.

Martinez, Gilbert T., and Jane Edwards. *The Mexican American.* Boston, 1973.

Meier, Matt S., and Feliciano Rivera. *The Chicanos: A History of Mexican Americans.* New York, 1972.

Portes, Alejandro, and Robert L. Bach. *Latin Journey: Cuban and Mexican Immigrants in the United States.* Berkeley, Calif., 1985.

Puerto Ricans

Bray, R. H. "The New Wave of Puerto Rican Immigration." *New York Times Magazine* (July 3, 1983).

Fernandez, Michael. "The Puerto Rican in New Jersey." In *The New Jersey Ethnic Experience.* Edited by Barbara Cunningham. Union City, N.J., 1977.

Larsen, Ronald J. *The Puerto Ricans in America.* Minneapolis, 1973.

McKown, Robin. *The Image of Puerto Rico, Its History and its People: On the Island — On the Mainland.* New York, 1973.

Senior, Clarence. The Puerto Ricans: Strangers — Then Neighbors. Chicago, 1965.

Ukrainians

Kuropas, Myron B. *The Ukrainians in America.* Minneapolis, 1972.

Lichten, Joseph L. "Ukrainian Americans." In *One America: The History, Contributions and Present Problems of Our Racial and National Minorities.* Edited by Francis J. Brown and Joseph S. Roucek. Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1952.

Rak, Dora. "Ukrainians in New Jersey from the First Settlement to the Centennial Anniversary." In *The New Jersey Ethnic Experience.* Edited by Barbara Cunningham. Union City, N.J., 1977.

Werstman, Vladimir. *The Ukrainians in America, 1608–1975: A Chronology and Fact Book.* Dobbs Ferry, N.Y., 1976.

GLOSSARY

Anglo: A term used by Hispanics to refer to non-Latin whites.

assimilation: Absorption into a new culture; adaptation or adjustment.

bas mitvah (often **bat mitvah**): Hebrew for "daughter of the law." A custom of fairly recent origin in which Conservative and Reform Jews symbolically welcome a girl of thirteen as an adult member of the Jewish community. It is derived from the much older *bar mitzvah*, the admission of a thirteen-year-old boy to full participation in religious life after he has been trained to read from biblical scrolls.

de facto: Actual, actually. This is a legal term often used in discussing racial balance in public schools. Although segregation by race is illegal, de facto segregation exists in many American public school systems. The schools in neighborhoods where one racial group predominates tend to have student populations that are nearly all black or all white.

Great Depression: The world-wide economic crisis of the 1930s. In the United States it began when the stock market crashed in October 1929. During the worst period sixteen million Americans, one-third of the work force, were unemployed. The federal government's New Deal economic policies of the 1930s brought about a partial recovery, but full economic strength was not achieved until heavy defense spending began during World War II.

gymnasium: A secondary school in Germany where students prepare for the university. It is roughly equivalent to our high school.

Harlem: A section in the northern part of Manhattan. The Dutch named it Nieuw Haarlem in the seventeenth century. It was farmed until the

nineteenth century, when it was developed as a fashionable residential district of New York City. During the great migration of blacks in the early twentieth century it became one of the largest black communities in the United States. It was a center of black culture and art in the 1920s.

Jim Crow: Racial segregation. The term, taken from a minstrel-show character of the 1920s, originally meant "black person." Jim Crow laws were used by southern states to keep the black and white races separate after the slaves were freed. The earliest laws segregated public transportation at the end of the Civil War; eventually there were Jim Crow laws for every aspect of life. The system received its death blow in 1954, when the United States Supreme Court declared school segregation unconstitutional.

kinderfest: German: a children's party.

segregation: A policy of separating people on the basis of race, ethnicity or sex.

Turner's Hall: A German ethnic athletic club. The German word for "athletic club" is *turnverein*.